

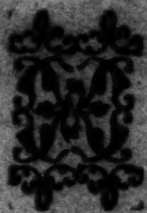
1763
THE
POVVERFVLL
FAVORITE,

OR,

The life of
ÆLIVS SEIANVS.

By P.M.

Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira Cupido.
Virg. 1. Georg.



Printed at Paris. 1628.

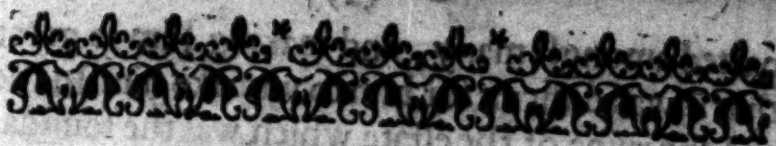
THE HISTORY OF THE
 POPE AND HIS
 RELIGION & RITUALS
 BY P. M.

Having thus far traced the history of the
 papacy, and the various forms of
 idolatry and superstition which
 have been introduced into the
 religion of the people, it now remains
 to show how they have been
 and how they should be
 had need therefore to be
 reformed.



The Pope is now, and has been for
 many years, the most powerful
 prince in the world, and his
 influence extends over almost
 the whole of Europe. He is
 the head of the Roman
 Catholic Church, and his
 decrees are binding on all
 his subjects. He is also
 the patron of the Pope, and
 his influence is such that
 he can make or unmake
 kings. He is the most
 powerful prince in the world,
 and his influence extends
 over almost the whole of
 Europe. He is the head of
 the Roman Catholic Church,
 and his decrees are binding
 on all his subjects. He is
 also the patron of the Pope,
 and his influence is such
 that he can make or unmake
 kings.

Printed at Paris. 1628.



The life of
ÆLIUS SEIANVS

By P. M.



Seeing that Princes dispose so-
ueraignely of their hearts; and that they forme in them
loue and hatred, to whom and how they please; Wee
had need therefore to desire

The heart of
the Prince is
free, and is not
guided but by
the hand of
God.

mentioned in the books men

the play is done, and that they are vnshod of
their high shooes that eleuated them aboue o-
thers, they are dispoyled of the habits of these
personages they represented, they returne to their
first forme and they come to know that wee must
not measure the *Statue* by the *basis* that susteynes
it, nor iudge of a man by his dignitie or fortune.

The heavens being prouoked against the Ro-
mane Empire, permitted this deuiating in the
minde of *Tiberius*, through the excesse of fauour
which hee bare to *Aelius Seianus*, vniting in his
person those charges which should haue beene
parted

POPE'S PAPERS
ALLIANCE

BY F. M.

Being that Prince of the Peace
and how they shall be
had need to be to do it



Printed at 100. 1028.



The life of
ÆLIUS SEIANVS

By P. M.



Seeing that Princes dispose so-
ueraignely of their hearts;
and that they forme in them
loue and hatred, to whom
and how they please; Wee
had need therefore to desire
that their affections to parti-
cular men might be iust and
well regulated. For if they bee disordered they
draw with them publike ruine: they render Prin-
ces hatefull, and their Fauourites miserable; when
the play is done, and that they are vnshod of
their high shooes that eleuated them aboue o-
thers, they are dispoyled of the habits of these
personages they represented, they returne to their
first forme and they come to know that wee must
not measure the *Statua* by the *basis* that susteynes
it, nor iudge of a man by his dignitie or fortune.

The heavens being prouoked against the Ro-
mane Empire, permitted this deuiating in the
minde of *Tiberius*, through the excesse of fauour
which hee bare to *Aelius Seianus*, vniting in his
person those charges which should haue beene

The heart of
the Prince is
free, and is not
guided but by
the hand of
God.

*Excelsus est
ad statum su-
am rediunt. Sen.*

parted amongst many, and making him so great that it was difficult for him to vnmake him. In the end the ruine of the estate which was the foundation of his greatnesse, was likewise the cause of his fall. He was the son of *Seius Strabo*, a Knight of *Rome*, borne in *Vulsinus*, a country of *Tuscany*. In his youth he serued *Caius Caesar* the nephew of *Augustus*. Hee shared in the inordinate and abominable vices of *Apicius*, that rich prodigall, that famous glutton, who hauing eaten vp his estate, and finding by his accompt that he had no more then 200000. crownes remayning, thought himselfe poore, and that this sufficed not to maintayne his luxury: whereupon he conceyued such an extreame apprehension, that death seemed more supportable to him then his pouerty: and tooke downe a glasse of poyson, hee neuer dranke a better draught then this last which stopped the furious course of his dissolutenesse. *Seianus* hauing attained some name in the profession of Armes, *Strabo* his father presented him to *Tiberius*, to permit that he might associate him in the charge of Colonell of the Pretorian Guardes; and from henceforward the Prince began to take pleasure in his watchfulnesse and viuacity, and belceued that this Spirit might one day by his discipline become an instrument apt to doe any thing. Hee followed *Drusus* the Prince whom the Emperour had made Generall of the Army to reduce vnto obedience those who were revolted in *Austria* and *Hungarie*. The first demonstration of *Tiberius* affection to him

The expences
of *Apicius* his
Kitchen, a-
mounted to
more then 2.
millions of
gold. H.S.
*Millies in culti-
nam concessit.*
Sen.
*Illis tam praua
mentis hominis
ultima potio sa-
luberrima fuit.*
Sen.

*Rector iuueni
& ceteris peri-
culorum premi-
umque osten-
tator.*

him was to elect him for Tutor to this Prince, and to give to others the example of merit to attaine rewards, and of valor to expose themselves to danger. He knew the inward disposition of *Tiberius*, and conformed his owne so perfectly therunto, that both their hearts seemed to haue but one motion. This conformitie enter-tayned the affection, and from thence grew that entire confidence that *Tiberius* who distrusted all men, distrusted not *Seianus*, nor withheld any thing secret or hidden from him.

Tiberium obscurum aduersus alios, sibi uni incantum intellumq; effecit. Tacitus.

This fauour attracted all hearts, all eyes followed this new light; the Senate communicated to him their weighty affayres; and from his mouth receiued their most important dispatches: euery where one might see ceremonious troopes which searched or attended for him to doe him reuerence. The great ones held themselves honoured by his commands; if hee speakes hee obligeth them, if he regard, they are contented: they wayt in the morning at the gates of his house; they are there at his rising and going to bed; others endure the affronts of his doorekeepers whom they bribe to be at the first opening or admission. And when they present themselves to the Idoll which they adore, happy is hee that can faise the greatest admiration to prayse him, or seruitude to flatter him. To speake after the minde of some great man, to consent to all that is said, to admire all that is done, to approoue all that he will, these are the principall peeces of complement, and admiration is euery one continuall part in the office of flattery.

Turba salutaris.

Duras fores expers somni colis. Sen.

In the growing of his grace he was desirous to haue it conceyued that he was founded in a firme resolution

Incipiente potentia bonis consilijs innotescendum. Tacitus.

*Palam composi-
tus pudor, intus
summa adipi-
scendi libido.
Tacit.*

*Industria & vi-
gilantia haud
minus noxie,
quoties parando
regno finguntur.
Tac.*

*Lasciuit miles
deductus. Tac.*

*Vallum statua-
tur procul urbis
illecebris. Tac.*

*Neque ambitu
Senatorio absti-
nebat, clientes
suos honoribus
aut prouincijs
ornando. Tac.*

to aduance the seruice of the Prince, and the good of the weale publique, and onely to admit iustice in his actions, prudence in his counsayle, and modesty in his fortune: he carried in outward appearance moderation, but inwardly ambition: but hee flew out in his wastefull expences and prodigalities, in the magnificence of his household furniture and pictures, in the excessse of his sumptuous feasts as if they had beene sacrifices, and in the pride of his Palaces gilded as if they had beene Temples: hee was industrious and vigilant to attaine to his ends: he had a ready vnderstanding to discouer and to apprehend all sorts of formes, accommodating himselfe to plainnesse or seuerity according to the occasions.

Being sole captaine of the Prætorian guards, he caused them to lodge within a quarter of a mile of the city, that when there was occasion he might haue them ready at his disposing, representing to *Tiberius* that souldiers being dispersed liued without discipline; and that seeing them euery day assembled together in one place, the number might breed security to themselves, and feare to others, and that keeping them farre from the debauchements of the City, they might the better be kept in order.

This being assented vnto, and a lodging assigned, he began by little and little to gaine credit and respect in the hearts of the souldiers visiting them in their *Corps de Guard*, calling them by their names, endearing the Captaynes and Tribunes, feeding the one with hopes, the other with gifts, and all with good words, whereof he was nothing couctous or sparing.

To strengthen his party he dressed his speeches and intelligences

intelligences in the Senate, and procured that his friends should be provided of Commissions, and honoured with charges and governments, knowing that it was not sufficient to hold authority with the Souldier, if he wanted it with the Senate and Iusticiars, who held so great estimation among the people.

In all his designs he found in *Tiberius* so great facility and affection to his desires, that he needed onely to aske and giue thanks; hee neuer denied him any thing, and oftentimes he preuented his request, and allowed that he deserued much more. Wherefore not onely in priuate, but also in the Senate hee called him companion of his labours, and commanded that his pourtrayture should be honoured together with his in the streets, respected in the Theaters, and carried in the standards of his armies. This is for a Prince to annihilate himselfe to please his seruant: for it cannot goe well when the people perceiue that fauour transferreth soueraigne honours of superiours vpon an inferiour, and that the Prince suffereth a companion in the kingdome to assist him to gouerne. *Hercules* saw well that *Atlas* eased him, but he made it bee knowne that *Olympus* stood more secure vpon his shoulders, then vpon any others. A kingdome at one and the same time can neuer be diuided between two.

He framed all *Tiberius* his actions to rigour and severity, to the end that hee might lose the affections of the people, who could not wish him well that did nothing but intreat them ill. It was no hard matter to perswade him to cruelty, all his inclinations running that way, and in his childehood *Theodorus* his Tutor in Rhetoricke called him *Clay tempered with blood*:
so

*Scianus socius
laborum Tibe-
rij. Tac.
Effigies pra the-
atra, fora & in
principia legio-
num. Tac.*

*Firminus Hercu-
lae ceruice po-
pendit. Claud.*

so that *Seianus* had no more to doe then to spie and search out occasions to excite his choler, and to exercise his cruelties which would neuer be appeased without sacrifice.

The charges and dignities were conferred vpon his recommendation. It was enough to approoue their merit that they were neere him by kindred or alliance, and to sweare by his fauour; and yet notwithstanding *Tiberius* would it might be knowne, that hee considered more one then another to eschew blame, to take away from vertue to giue to Fortune. *Tiberius* had named two Proconsuls of *Affricke*, *Lepidus* and *Blesus*; and to free himselfe from the ill will of him which should be excluded, he recommended to the Senate the election of the most capable. The one of them was a man of excellent parts, the other was vnkle of *Seianus*, and in that regard alone sure to carry it. *Lepidus* who would not enter into concurrence with the most powerfull and most fauoured, excused himselfe through his indisposition, the yong age of his children & a daughter ready to marry, the Senate tooke him at his word, for they followed the winde of fauour; *Blesus* made semblance to refuse this charge, and all the flatterers cried, that none but he could deserue it.

The same fauour which had rayseed him, still supported him, and honoured his best seruices with greatest recompences. After that he had not defeated but routed the troopes of *Tacfarinus*, *Tiberius* commanded the Legions to salute him Emperour, hee ordayned him the triumph which neuer did belong to any, but to an entire victory, and by all meanes declared, that this was done for the loue of *Seianus* his nephew. He that

*Avunculus Se-
iani Blesus atq;
eo prevalidus.
Tacit.*

that had *Sejanus* his protector, needed not with any great labour search for honours: hee that had him his enemy languished vnder disgrace and misery. None had any honour without his fauour, and none could deserue it with innocency and vertue. He caused *Iunius Otho* to be admitted into the Senate, who neuer had beene of any other profession then a schoolemaster. He serued his turne to ruine *Ca. Silanus* Proconsull of *Asia*: he accused him of extortion, and in his gouernment to haue giuen greater authority to money then to iustice. This was something, but they added other accusations, out of which the most innocent could hardly haue woun themselves. They brought to speak against him the most famous orators of *Asia*, although he was assisted by no man, nor had yet accustomed himselfe to speake in publike, and that feare that troubled the best speakers and the most hardy eloquence, had disordered his discourse.

Tiberius pressed him both by voice and by gesture so liuely, and by his demands so frequent and spritefull that he was as it were astonished, neither durst he contradict for feare of prouoking him; and seeing himselfe constrained to confesse lest hee should make the demands ineffectua'l. O what misery was this! The respect of the Prince obligeth the accused to betray his owne innocency.

Amongst the number of his accusers, *Iunius Otho* a creature of *Sejanus*, was the most passionate; for being newly entred into this charge of Senator, he sought occasions to aduance the obscurity of his beginning by the impudence and shamelesnesse of his counsels, holding the most extreame the most safe: *Silanus*

B

chose

Ut quisq; Sejanus intimus ille ad Caesaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus insensus esset metu & sordibus constabantur. Tacit.

Proprius metas exercitum quoq; eloquentiam debilitat. Tacit.

Saepe etiam confitendum erat ne frustra quaesisset. Tacit.

Obscura initia impudentibus ausis propelluntur. Tacit.

*Exemplum at-
cipiuntur que
sunt ab exem-
plo. Tacit.*

chose rather to have recourse to the goodnesse of *Tiberius*, then to trust to his owne defence, he presented him one request, to implore of him; but *Tiberius* who meant to ruine him, declared that in this accusation, he pursued but the intention of the law.

O rem regiam.

Sen.

*To praise cle-
mency and to
conclude with
rigor.*

*Ante ceteros
parat, absurdum
in adulatorem
progressus. Tac.*

*Legibus delicta
puniantur, quan-
do melius provi-
deri ne peccare-
tur. Tacit.*

And forasmuch as that which is done by example, carries it's excuse, hee caused to be brought out of the Registers, a iudgement given vnder *Augustus*, against *Volegius Messala*, who had also beene Proconsull of *Asia*; but if their qualities were alike, their liues and their charges were in euery thing different. The one cruell, the other conetous; this was an inhumane man, who passing by a place where hee had caused 300. heads to be cut off in one day, called it a Royall place and of great magnificence.

When they came to deliuer their opinions for the sentence, *Lucius Piso* hauing cast out some clawing words in praise of the clemency of the Emperour, was of opinion that they should prohibite *Silanus* from water and from fire; and that they should banish him into the isle of *Gyara*. This opinion was pursued by others: *Lentulus* added, that the goods that came by the mother should bee left to the sonnes. *Tiberius* approoued it. But *Cornelius Dolabella* flattering more yet, and sharply blaming *Silanus* his actions, sayd, that thencefoorth they should not giue the gouernement of Prouinces but to those which should bee of vnreproachable life, and of sound reputation, and with the iudgement of the Emperour. For although Law were ordained to no other but to punish offences, yet is it certayne, that it were much better if the committing of them might be hindred, both for those who should

should be honoured with such charges, and for those vpon whom they should be exercised, for these should conserue their innocency, and the other their quiet and repose. *Tiberius* heere vpon made a discourse worthy of his prudence and of his knowledge which he had of the people, who are but too prone to denie the actions of Magistrates, as it is now sayd of *Aegypt* that it abounded in speeches and artifices to calumniate their gouernours; and that though many haue eschewed the punishment, yet haue they not freed themselves from the infamy, he spake in this manner:

Laguar & ingenuosa in contumeliam praefectorum provincia, in qua qui vitaverit culpam non effugit infamiam. Sen.

I am not ignorant of any thing that is now published against *Silanus*, but I must neuer resolve any thing vpon bare reports. Many haue gouerned *Provinces* otherwise from that they haue hoped or feared, for the greatnesse and difficulty of affaires which present themselves, rayseth the courage of some, and astonisheth and abaseth it in others. And forasmuch as the knowledge of a Prince cannot extend it selfe to all, and may not be diuerted through the ambition of another: Lawes are ordayned for things done; for those things that are to doe are vncertaine. Therefore our Fathers haue ordayned, that if crime preceded, punishments should follow. You ought not to change that, which hauing beene once sagely ordayned, hath beene in all times allowed. The *Provinces* are charged with affaires enough: they haue authority enough: the rights diminish when the power increaseth; and we must not use commandement in those matters for which the Law hath provided.

Non ex rumore statuendum. Tac.

Quidam ad meliorem existunt, magnitudine rerum bebescent alij. Tacit.

Leges in factis constitutae, quia futura in incerto sunt. Tacit.

Sapienter reposita & semper placita non vertenda. Tacit.

Non intendum imperio, ubi legibus adest.

This discourse was approoued, and the place of the banishment changed to *Cybara*, because *Gyara* was too rude and wilde; *Tiberius* shewed, that he was able

Eandem modum non emendat, si propria sua non impellatur. Tac.

Prudens moderandi animus si propria ira non impellitur.

Tac.

Insula Gyara immitis & sine cultu hominum.

Tac.

Qui dabit olim imperium, fastes, an plures, et legiones & duas res tantum anxius optat Pan-num & Circen-ses. Iuven.

The Theater of Pompey was dedicated to Venus. Ter-tullian called it Arcem omnium turpitudinum.

Tac.

Labor & diligencia magna vis intra unum annum fisti-tur. Tac.

Tac.

Non tam beneuolentia prou-xit, quam ut cu-mus ministerio ac fraudibus libe-ros Germanici superueniret.

Sueton.

to moderate his spirit when he was not in choler.

Seianus onely disposed of Offices and Commis-sions : the people medled no more in the election of Se-nators ; they sold no more their suffrages, nor their canuassings ; and for the right which they had to the Commanders ouer the Magistrates and the Legions, they contented themselves with shewes and Circensi-playes, and the cloth which was giuen them for their Liueries. There was no man now liuing, that had seene the Common wealth, the markes of the an-cient liberty were quite defaced.

The greatest ornament of Rome was Pompeies The-atre, of such extent, that it was able to lodge 40000 men. It happened to be on fire accidentally : Seianus quenched it, and hindered it so, that the ill of the acci-dent could goe no further. Tiberius purposing to rec-difie it, commended in full Senate the diligence and vi-gilancy of Seianus. The Fathers to please him, ordai-ned, that his Statua should be erected neere the The-ater.

But as Princes doe nothing without some speciall drift or purpose, Tiberius in fauouring Seianus had one, and Seianus in seruing Tiberius framed to him-selfe another : There is neyther affection nor saythful-nesse without gratuity. Tiberius desired that the good will which hee bare to Seianus might oblige him to serue him, without any condition to ascertaine his au-thority : and Seianus in seruing the Emperour aspired to the Empire, and would keepe secret his ambition. This was not affection in Tiberius, but necessity ; for he desired to serue himselfe by the plots and deuices of Seianus to ruine Germanicus his house, and to raise his owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne

owne; and *Sejanus* purposed to rise to the Empire by the ruine of them both: his power went not so fast as his will that encountred with great hindrances. For *Casars* house was yet entire; the sonnes yong and lustic, the grandchildren great, he could not ruine so many at once: for treason will have some space of time in its wicked proceeding: and hee thought best to begin with *Drusus*, at the same time that *Tiberius* had resolved to make away with *Germanicus*. For as the spirit of a man apprehends more dangers farre off, then present, *Tiberius* saw no other thing that gaue him more cause of ieaousie then his brother: and nothing gaue him more cause to feare the ambition of *Sejanus*, then his sonne.

The worst counsell which ever hee gaue him was to change that which *Augustus* had ordayned, and hate that he had loued: for the extreame hatred which he bare to *Germanicus* his house, cooled that first affection which he found when he came to the Empire, the people seeing him runne with such fury to the ruine of their liberty, and throwing them headlong like a huge stone into the gulph of seruitude without hope euer to get out.

Germanicus was both cherished and loued of the people, because he was the sonne of *Drusus*, who had formerly endeuoured to restore the ancient gouernement of the Common wealth, and had communicated the proiect to *Tiberius* his brother: but hee had bewrayed it and discovered it to *Augustus*. It was thought that the sonne would haue pursued the design of the father to haue reuiued the liberty: and that if he had had the soueraigne authority, hee would not haue

*Augustus civile
rebatur miseri
voluptatibus
vulgi. Tac.*

used them with such rigour as *Tiberius* did, but sweetly as *Augustus*, who was a Prince and seemed a Citizen, and disdayned not to beare a part in popular recreations. For this cause *Germanicus* reigned in the hearts, and *Tiberius* but in the Provinces; and when it was aduertised that he had pacified *Almaigne*, that *Agrippina* his wife also had done all which a Chiefe or Generall of an army could doe, to shew her courage to her enemies, her liberality to the souldiers, her prudence in appeasing seditions, straightwayes hee waxed iealous, and that iealousie degenerated into a mortall hatred. What remained more to the Emperour (sayd he) then for a woman to command over men, to visit the Corps du Garde, obliging the souldiers by good words, and great rewards.

*Nil relictum
Imperatoribus,
vbi famina man-
ipulos internu-
sat, signa adeat,
largitionem ten-
tat. Tac.*

Seianus, who loued not *Agrippina*, and knew *Tiberius* his humour, who could not brooke that any should bustle with the soueraigne authority, which was so delicate and tender, that it would take hurt by the least touch, wanted no discourse to entertaine the iealousie and suspitions, and added defiance to suspitions, and to suspicion feare, preparing long before, hatred against this Prince, to the end that at his determined time it might fall vpon him to his destruction.

*Odia in longam
iaciens quere-
conderet aulic-
que promeret.
Tac.*

Germanicus returning from *Almaigne*, all the City was in a iollity. *Tiberius* commanded that onely two Companies of the guardes should bee sent to receiue him. All the people ranne with great haste, to the end they might speedily enioy the sight of him whom they had so long a time desired and expected. *Tiberius* heereupon conceyued so great despite, that hee resolved to make an end of this brave Prince, who had scarcely entred

*Populus omnis
vsque ad vicesi-
mum lapidem se
effudit. Suet.*

entred into the fower and thirtieth yeere of his age,
and had already attayned so much reputation as any
other could attaine in his whole life.

This Iented *Sejanus* who being vrged with the de-
sire to raigne, thought that his great power which he
had in the managing of affayres was but seruitude, so
long as hee was to acknowledge any superiour. *Tibe-*
rius by his aduice sent *Germanicus* into *Sclauonia*, vn-
der the colour of honouring him with the most princi-
pall commands of the Empire; hee appointed for his
Lieutenant *Cai. Piso* a malicious, proud and violent
man; with power to watch over his actions; and to
thwart his designs. It is reported that *Sejanus* gaue
him charge in writing to put this poore Prince to
death.

He put it in execution. *Germanicus* went into *Ae-*
gypt, and being there, was desirous to see their *Oxegad*
Apis; to know what his fortune should bee. *Apis*
would take nothing at his hand; and this was taken for
a certaine presage of his death. Hee was stricken with
a long and greuous sicknesse, and the opinion that he
was poysoned, increased the violence, for he held it in-
curable. The report hereof came to *Rome*, and was
made greater then the euill; for the distance of place
augmented it. Then was nothing heard but teares and
complaints. Is it for this (say they) that they haue sent
him to the worlds end, that *Piso* is made Lieutenant,
these are the plottings of the Emperesse with *Plancina*
his wife. Poore *Rome* that canst not haue them to be be-
lieued that loue thee, nor dare wee murmur against those
that ruine thee. And therewith all brake foorth into
mortall and vehement imprecations against *Sejanus*.

It

Sceleratis inge-
nijs & plisquam
cautis capienti-
bis non domina-
ri instar serui-
tutis est.

Apis manum
Germanici Ca-
saris auersatus
est, baud multo
post extincti.

Fama ex longin-
quo aucta. Tac.

*Latiora statim
credita, statim
vulgata, Tac.*

*Prior in tem-
bris affirmatio,
Tac.*

*Salua Roma,
salua patria, sal-
uus Germanicus
cui, Suet.*

*Germanicus
could not en-
dure the crow-
ing, nor the
sight of a cock.
Plut.*

*Qui prematuro
exitu rapitur illi
etiam aduersus
deum inustus dolor,
Tac.*

*Ultimas preces
pectus vestris
relinquo. Tac.*

*Miserissima villa
postima morte
finitur.*

It was aduertised by some merchants of *Aegypt*, that he began to recouer. This good newes was assoone beleeued as published; and the streets were too narrow for the concourse of people, which ran to the temples to giue thanks vnto the gods. The night fauoured the rumour, and the beleefe thereof seemeth more easie and costlesse in the darke. *Tiberius* himselfe is awakened in the night with their ioyfull acclamations. No words can be heard but these: *Rome is safe, our Countrey is safe, Germanicus is safe.*

After that the poyson gently violent, had consumed all the heat and moysture in this poore body, all his friends conceyued that he should haue no need to hate or to see a Cocke to sacrifice to *Aesculapius*; and that the gods would not grant him his life because they would not restore liberty to the *Romane Empire*. In this extreame weakenesse he expressed from his mouth these his last words, to imprint them in the heart of his wife and his friends, that grieffe euen melted them to teares, and rented their hearts in sunder.

If I had died according to the course of nature, I might iustly complaine against the gods, that they had snatcht me away before the time of my parents, of my children, of my countrey, and of the yeeres of my youth. But now since my course is interrupted by the wickednesse of *Piso* and *Plancina*, I will leaue within your hearts my last requests.

I coniure you to represent to the Emperour, my Father and my Finkle, how that after I was wronged by these cruell iniuries, and perplexed by these strange disloyalties, I finished my miserable life by a death which yet is more miserable. Those that haue followed my hopes
wba

who are of the same blood with me, and those same that
 have borne me enuy when I was in the world, will be grie-
 ued to see me ruined by the treacherie of a woman, then
 when I was flourishing. & when I had escaped death in so
 many battailes: & you also shall haue a subject to complain
 of to the Senate, and implore the assistance of the Law.

The chiefest duty of friends is not to follow the de-
 ceased with cries and weeping, which serue to no other
 purpose, but to be mindfull of what they desired and to
 performe that which they appointed. Germanicus wanted
 not teares; they to whom this nothing at all appertaines &
 haue not known him at all, will bewaile him, but you will
 auenge him if you loued more his person then his fortune.

Let the people of Rome see the Niece of Augustus, the
 wife of Germanicus and the children which he leaues
 behind him, Compassion will make them be of my side
 when they shall accuse the Authors of my death; and
 if those that shall be accused shall seeke to colour it and
 to inuent some execrable commandment; (this touched
 Seianus who had giuen order to Piso to doe it) good
 men will not beleue them, or at least will not permit that
 they should remaine unpunished.

All that were present sweare in the hand of Ger-
 manicus to dye, or to reuenge his death, euery one
 deplored the losse of so braver Prince who in his de-
 portments retained the greatnesse and gravity of his
 fortunes, and had nothing in his words but of sweet-
 nesse and of Curtesie. He turned towards his wife, he
 coniuerted her by the loue which she had borne him,
 by the memory she should haue of him and for their
 childrens sake which they had had together, to mo-
 derate and humble a little her heart, and to accommo-

*Fundatione po-
tentis validio-
res band irri-
tandi Tac.*

date it to time and to make it pliable to the rigor of fortune, waiting till she should sweeten her selfe. Aboue all (my deere wife) take heed when you are at *Rome* of giuing occasion of Ielousie to those that are more powerfull then you, and imply not that good will which you shall find in the hearts to the Senate and people, to make any concurrence to their fauor and ambition.

*Quasi rursus e-
reptum acris
doluit. Tacit.*

*Cremati cor in-
ter ossa incor-
ruptum reper-
tum est, cuius
ea natura vi-
tium veneno
igne confici ne-
queat. Suet.*

*Piso intempe-
rante accepit
Germanicum
excessisse, cedis
vultu, adis-
temple, magis
indolescente
Placina. Tac.*

This was the most sound counsaile that he could giue her, but she should haue beene held vnworthy to be the Neece of *Augustus* the wife of *Germanicus*, and mother of those children, if she had made greater accompt of the estate of fortune then of ver- tue, and should seeke to attaine the fauors of the Emperor by those of *Seianus*.

When the people of *Rome* knew that *Germanicus* was dead, their griefe was so much the greater, by supposing him taken away from them, and was nothing there scene but griefe and affliction. It was doubted, whether he were made away by poyson or by witchcraft, the one they beleueed because his heart did not burne; and the other was bruted abroad be- cause they found about him dead menes bones, Cha- racters and Charmes.

Germanicus his friends published euery where that *Piso* had beene the cause of his Death, that *Agrippina* would reuenge it: but receiuing the newes of his death in the Isle of *Cis*, he caused sacrifices to be made, *Plan- cina* his wife visited the temples, he cared not for the threatnings of *Agrippina*, & thought of nothing but to settle himselfe in the gouernment of *Syria*, supposing that the seruice which he had done to *Tiberius* was sufficient

sufficient to guard him from the feare of this vengeance and to assure him of the recompence of his merit.

Vpon this his resolution to goe Into *Syria* his sonne aduised him to go to *Rome*, without apprehending these vaine reports and feeble suspicions to infringe or preuent the disignes of his enemies, and to gaine the aduantage of the first impressions. That he should not suppose to put himselfe so soone in the gouernment of *Syria*, seeing that *Senius* was prouided therof, that he could not expect great obedience of an Army, that as yet deplored the death of *Germanicus* and conserued with bitterness his memory, That he repented himselfe drawing vpon him the blame of a Ciuill warre.

Domitius Celer on the contrary side: that he ought to take againe the charge which he had taken away and to fill the place that was void, That it were imprudence and perill to goe to *Rome* at the same time that *Agrippina* would be there, and that the people would be moued by her cries and her complaint; That it was needfull to leaue to time these first reports to make them wax old, and that innocency can hardly resist the violence of a new springing enuy. That he ought to goe to *Syria* to take the Command of the army and the authority of the gouernment, and that he had no other way then to take armes in hand and to iustifie himselfe in the field, and that the things which are often apprehended as dangerous, become more secure then one can prouide for, or expect, That he should feare nothing since the *Empresse* was interested in his cause, and *Tiberius* obliged to disin-

*Suspiciones in-
becilla aut in-
niasum non
pertinenda.
Tac.*

*Apud milites re-
gens Imperatoris
memoria prae-
lo. Tac.*

*Utendum est
uentis.*

*Relinquendum
rumoribus tem-
poris quo sen-
sant, plerumque
innocentes ro-
centi inuidia
impares. Tac.*

*Multa quae pro-
videri non pos-
sunt fortuito in
melius recidunt.
Tac.*

*est tibi Augusta
conscientia, est
Caesaris fauor,
sed in occulto.*
Tac.

*Perisse Germa-
nicum.
Haud magna me-
le Piso promp-
tus ferocibus.*
Tac.

The Tribunes
and the Cap-
taines wee-
ping, carried
the vessels
wherein the a-
shes of Germa-
nicus were, vp-
on their shoul-
ders.

*Agripp. appel-
lam Decus pa-
tris, solum Au-
gusti sanguinem,
unicum antiqui-
tatis specimen.*
Tac.

*Tiberius & Au-
gusta publico ab-
stinere, ne om-
nium oculis vul-
tum eorum scri-
bantibus falsi in-
telligerentur.*
Tac.

gaged him, but that fauouring him in secret he did con-
ceiue worse then if he did hasten this affaire to force
him to sustaine it publikely, that it was certaine that
those that were most pleased with his death made shew
to be most afflicted therewith.

Piso whose spirit enclined more willingly to dange-
rous resolutions with courage then to easie ones with
prudence, followed this counsaile and went into
Syria; but he found *Gn. Sentius* opposit vnto him, who
because he would neither haue nor suffer a companion
in his charge, draue him out of the Prouince and be-
sieged him in a Castle of *Cilicia*, and constrained him
to render him and to take his iourney to *Rome*.

Whilst this was doing *Agrippina* embarqued vp-
on the Sea with the ashes of *Germanicus* her husband,
and landing was receiued with great honours of all
the Estates of *Rome*, who manifested an extreame grieffe
for the death of her husband, and an incredible ioy
for the returne of the wife and children. The people
call *Agrippina* the honour of the Countrey, the sole
and true blood of *Augustus*, the example of the ancient
glory; and added to their cryes, vowes and prayers for
the safety of his widow and yong children, and for the
ruine of their enemies.

Tiberius was much offended with these *Plaudits* and
would not be scene at this entertainment, doubting
that his face might bewray that contentment of minde
which he felt inwardly for the death of *Germanicus*,
and commanded the people to moderate this sorrow,
and to beare it, as they had done the defeat of their ar-
mies and the losse of their Captaines, the ruine of their
great families.

Piso

Piso arrived there presently after, regarding so little the threatnings of Agrippina, that Marcus Vibi-
us a friend of Germanicus telling him that he must go to
Rome to cleere himself, he answered sodeinly & in scot-
sing manner. You shal see me there, when the Prator that
giues information of the witcheries shall haue appoin-
ted a day for the accused and the accusers.

Eludens respon-
dit ad futurum
ubi Prator qui
de veneficijs
quaereret, reo
atque accusato-
ribus diem pra-
dixisset. Tac.

He entred into Rome with a great number of At-
tendance magnificent and proud, his wife braue and
ioyous, the Gates of his house being deckt with
Lawrell, whereby the people were the more prouo-
ked. The day following he was accused of the death
of Germanicus and Tiberius desired to take notice of
the Cause. Piso he desired it, because he feared the af-
fection of the Senators to the memory of Germanicus,
and assuring himse fe that his warranter should be his
Iudge, coueted rather to depend on the authoritie of
one alone, then on the passion of many.

Fuit inter irri-
tamenta inuidia
domus fore im-
minens festo or-
nata. Tac.

Tiberius saw himselfe in a streight how to con-
demne the guilty, and to absolve his owne Conscience,
for he knew the reports that truth had made current
euery where against him and his mother, and that
Piso was but the instrument of this Parricide. He
would handle the businiess with as little businiess as
he could, and heard the accusers, in the presence of
Seianus and some of his most confident and familiar
friends, They demanded iustice, and added threatning
to requests. We neede not to doubt therefore that
he was aduised to let Piso perish, rather then to per-
mit his reputation to be wronged, and Princes some-
time serue themselves of men no longer then they
haue neede of them.

Vera aut in de-
terina credita
iudice ab uno
facilius dyscer-
nuntur, ad unum
& inuidia apud
multos valent.
Tac.

Haud fallebat
Tiberium moles
cognitionis, qua
que ipse fama di-
straheretur. Ta-
Paucis familia-
rium adhibitis,
minime accusan-
tium & preces
audia.

Facinorum omnium reperiuntur.
Tac.

It is needfull to walke wisely and heedfully in dangerous things, where the reputation of the Prince runnes any hazard.

The frame of the puissance of a Prince is altogether founded vpon his reputation.

Eloquenti exoptat pretium litium numerum.

Sen.

Quanta fides avaricia Germanicique fiducia rei, satine cohiberet ac premeret sensus sui Tiberius, an promeret. Tac.

But because the history names *Seianus* the inuentor of all these mischiefs, he passed on further and sayd, That the Emperour ought not to meddle in these affayres, by condemning *Piso* hee should too much increase the pride of *Agrippina*, and in declaring him innocent, he should shew that fauour would overcome iustice, hee durst not say that the complice should absolve the guilty. That it was necessary to remit it to the Senate, and that if he were condemned, the iudgement might be attributed to the passion of *Germanicus* his house, if discharged, the blame should lie on the Nobility.

Seianus went to instruct *Piso* what hee should say, assuring him of impunity of all other crimes, provided that he did not confesse the secret of this; that the Emperour would quench the fire that was kindled, and not permit that the sicke party should die of the sicknesse whereof he was the cause, and that his reputation the only frame of his authority obliged him rather to lose himselfe, then not to saue him.

Piso appeared in the Senate, and there were some orators assigned to speake for the accusers, and others to defend the accused; the subiect was worthy of the eloquence of the most able, and of such as did not seeke for businesse, but who were sought out for businesse, and who esteemed more the importance and the quality then the number and multitude of them. *Tiberius* made a discourse with such a temperament between the accusation and the accused, that any might well perceiue the contriuing thereof was premeditated. All the City listened to know what the credit of *Germanicus* his friends would be, the assurance of the accused, the

the countenance of *Tiberius*; and if he could well conceale and keepe backe the sence of his passion, or that hee would permit it to breake out. And the people who otherwise regarded not affayres, in this gaue themselves much liberty against the Prince, and either in secret communication they shewed their spleene, or in silence they discovered their suspicions.

You know (my Fathers, sayd *Tiberius*) that *Piso* at other times hath bene the friend of *Augustus* my Father, and Lieutenant of the Army of Spaine; and that by the advice of the Senate he was given to *Germanicus* my Nephew to iassist him in the government of the affayres of the East. This now considered, it is meete you should iudge him with pure and sincere spirits, if through his arrogancy or through excesse of authority he hath offended the minde of this yong Prince, if hee hath reioyced at his death, or if he hath trayterously and wickedly bene a cause of his death.

For if in this charge of Lieutenanty hee hath exceeded the limits of duty, if he hath quitted the respect due to a Generall, if hee hath manifested contentment in his death and my sorrow, nothing can hinder it, but that he must incurre my displeasure; I sweare to you that I will chase him from my house, and avenge my injury not in quality of a Prince, but as a private person.

And if you shall discover any wickednesse which ought not only to be avenged in this death, but in any other you will; I comiure you to consider in this your grieffe, that of *Germanicus* his children, and ours, who are so neere to him; neither refuse to vs a iust consolation.

Consider on one side how *Piso* hath carried himselfe in the Army, if he hath caused any trouble or sedition, if

populus multum sibi occulta vocis aut suspitionis silentij permittit. Tac.

integris animis iudicandum. Tac.

Legatus officij terminum aut obsequium erga imperatorem non trahit. Tac.

Fortis in universumque indomitus nec indocendum. Tac.

Quisquis ambitionem studio multum. Tac.

be

*Falsa in mains
vulgant accusa-
tores. Tacit.*

he hath inuengled the hearts of the souldiers to aspire to command; and after that Germanicus had taken away his charge, if he did assay to gaine it againe by Armes, consider on the other side, if these false and forged matters haue beene vented by the Accusers for true, and of greater consequence then they are.

*Incerta adhuc
sunt scrutanda.*

As for mee, I cannot conceale that I am not moued with the passion which they haue manifested. For if they be not as yet well assured of the cause of the death; and if they haue need to bee informed thereof, to what purpose haue they exposed his naked body in the publique place of Antioch, and haue left it to be handled and viewed by the vulgar people; if this were not done to make the speech goe among strangers, that hee was poisoned; and by this report to draw forth more of bitterness then of truth. In good sooth, I am sorry for Germanicus my sonne, and shall be sorry for him all my life long; but I will not hinder that the accused shall not produce all hee hath to uphold his innocency, and prooue the wrong which Germanicus hath done him.

*Reus cuncta pro-
ferat, quibus in-
nocentia eius
subleuari possit.*

Tac.

*Obiecta crimina
pro approbatis
non accipienda.*

Tac.

*Si cui propin-
quus sanguis aut
fides sua patro-
nos dedis, quan-
tum quisque e-
loquentia & cu-
ra valet inuare
periculantem.*

Tacit.

*In accusationibus
where the grief
of the Prince
is ioyned with
the cause, wee
must not re-
gard his inte-
rest.*

I coniure you therefore, that you receiue not these charges for proofes, vnder pretext that this cause is ioyned to my griefe. And you others, who by right of kindred or of friendship haue undertaken the defence of the accused, imploy that industrie and eloquence that you haue to draw his innocency out of danger. I exhort the accusers likewise constantly to prosecute the cause: all the favour that wee shall shew to Germanicus aboue the Law shall be no other, then to bee enformed of the cause of his death, rather in the Senate house, then in the common place of iudgement, rather by the Senate then by the ordinarie iustices. In all other matters wee shall vse equal moderation.

moderation. Regard not the teares of my Brother Drusus about his sonnes, nor mine about my Nephewes; and lesse all that wicked malice can saie against vs.

It was heereupon giuen out, that the accusation should be framed within two dayes, that the parties accused should haue fixe dayes to prepare themselves to answer; and that in three dayes they should make their answer. She was bold to refute the empoysoning; her boldnesse bred some fauourable presumption of her innocency; but she faultred in other crimes.

Strange proceedings, where time is given to the accused to answer that which is in his owne knowledge, and to the aduocates to colour their answers.

In the first session *Vitellius* and *Veranius* reported to the Senate the last words of *Germanicus*, which inclined their heartes to pittie, as affection had prepared them to fauour. *Fulcinus Trio*, to whom it was all one to weepe and to speake eager to gaine reputation by doing ill, began the accusation: but because he produced nothing but generall matters, and old inquisitions of that which *Piso* had done, the Senate tooke no regard of it; for all this could neither hurt the partie accused if he should bee convicted, nor serue to his absolution if hee should bee cleered, if other where hee might be attainted of greater crimes.

Trionis ingenium audumque fama mala. Tac.

Vetera ac inania que neque conuicta noua res. Tac.

Vitellius accompanied the vehemency and force of his discourse with a great grace and grauity, speaking in this manner: *Although* (yee conscript Fathers) *the quality of those who lament themselves is worshie to bee considered, yet is it good for none but those who seeke for aid, otherwise then by the course of iustice, and the reasons of their owne complaining.*

The consideration of the quality of the accusers, renders the accusation more strong.

This cause carries with it fauour, and needs no other aid then that of the Law, which is not denied to the meanest in the world. I could say that those who now implore

A cause weighty in it selfe needs no other fauour.

The authority of a Prince maintaines the estate, and that cannot subsist when there is a neglect of punishing injuries, it, are of such quality, that if it be denied them, the Empire haue no more to doe either with the Law or the Senate. The issue of Augustus demandeth iustice, the people expect it, the Iudges ought to administer it, and thou Cæsar are obliged both as a Prince and as a kinsman.

*Ingens luctus
provincie &
circumia centi-
um populorum;
indolere externa
nationes regesq;
Tac.*

*Illic comitas in
socios, mansue-
tudo in hostes.
Tac.*

*Nemo tantum a
naturalis lege de-
scendit & homi-
nem exiit, ut a
nisi causa mo-
liri sit. Sen.*

Pretend not to bring any fauour to this accusation, since in representing the offence as a Prodigio, the offender as a Parricide, the deceased for such a one as euery man laments; forreine nations haue admired, the confederates haue sorrowed, this citie hath praised moderation in all things, except in this one so iust sorrow. Germanicus is no more; O what sorrow! we haue lost; O what misfortune! Germanicus the delight of the world, the loue of the country; so bountifull towards the citizens, so courteous towards strangers, was slaine miserably and traitterously. And by whom? by Piso, a wicked and vngratefull man. By whom also? by Plancina, a fury disguised in shape of a woman. By what meanes? by charmes and poysons. Who are the compli-ces? Sorcerers fetcht out of hell. And wherefore? To auenge the iniury and to vsurpe Command.

The spirits of wicked ones (conscript fathers) deprave not themselves all at once, neither can any espouse wickednesse by pleasure alone, they forme their designs from a farre off, and carry them to extremities; Piso by light faults is ascended vp to greater, by conetonsnesse to rapacitie, from thence to practices, then to ambition, and from ambition to the violating of the authority of the law, to come to the dispising of the power of the Gods. He hath giuen to Spaine the proosse of his avarice, to Syria of his ambition, to the house of Germanicus of his impiety.

Assoone

As soone as you had honoured him with the charge of being Germanicus his Lieutenant, he kept it not close that he desired that of the Generall, and used practices in Rome to render him hateful to his Father and in the army to cause him to be despised of the Souldiers. He practised then to drawe them to his deuotion, chased away the tribunes that would not depend of him, filled their places with bold persons, and to make himselfe beloved of the men of warre, permitted idlenesse in the campe, and disorders in the Cities, insolencies in the field: and thenceforth he was called the Father of the Legions: on the other side Plancina went cheeke by iolle with Agrippina, and enterprised things aboue the modestie of women, she was found sometimes vsing the exercise of knights and running courses of light horse.

And although this was rude to a spirit whose actions were all ciuill, yet he desired rather to cloake them, then to offend the Emperor his Father, with importunate complaints. He commanded Piso to lead a part of the Legions into Armenia, or at least to send his sonne thither, but he would doe neither, the one nor the other, and thereby lost the occasion of doing great seruice to the Emperor. When he was in counsaile neere Germanicus, or in the seate of iustice vnder him, he stiffly and imprudently opposed all his opinions.

I will rehearse vnto you an incredible insolencie, but so certaine that none dare deny it, to shew that sottishnes and malice were companions and sisters in all his actions. Being at the feast of the king Nabates, when he saw that the crownes of gold which were giuen him, were neither of the beantie nor the weight of those of Germanicus or of Agrippina, he threw them on the ground,

Haud inuito imperatore ea finis occultus ruerit incedebat. Tac.

Desidia incassum licentia in vrbibus. Tac.

Secreta studia pati non potest animus ad Cuius erectus agendique cupidus. Sen.

si quando adfunderet atrox ac dissensire mansuetus. Tac.

and being no lesse foolish then malicious, he began to reprove the sumptuousnesse of the feast, and discoursing against Luxurie, said, that such expence was proportionable to an Emperer, and not to the sonne of the King of the Parthians.

Poore soe, didst thou thinke ever after this to find credit in the heart, or securitie in the following of Germanicus, whom thou hadst so impudentlie offended? although he was blamed because he was too good and that he endured too much. Thinkest thou that there was in the world a safe retiring place, to guard thee against the rage of a Prince of Augustus blood? Hast thou heard it said, that hearts of such breeding, haue beene offended and not punished? And for therefore Plancina, who esteemed not her selfe could be happie so long as Agrippina was happie, said that she must needs either perish or reuenge her selfe, and pull this thorne out of thy hart, or permit that she might pluck it out of thy breast.

It is a generous kinde of reuenge, to let ones enemy see that hee can auenge himselfe.

Nescius quibus insectationibus peteretur, mansuetudine tamen agebat. Tac.

Potest quandoq; interitus inimici ad casum referri. Tac.

See (conscript Fathers) admire the goodnesse and generousnesse of this Prince, who hauing beene so often and so to the quicke offended by Piso, was alwaies contented to let him know he could auenge himselfe and save him when he might haue ruined him. He came to find him at Rhodes, and being well aduertised of all the plots he had framed against him, yet he bare himselfe towards him with so much equalitie and moderation, that upon the aduertisement which he had receiued, that fortune had cast him upon some shelines, he sent him certaine Barkes to fetch him off, although if he would haue deserted him, he could haue blamed none other then chance, and that fortune had conspir'd for his auengment.

Germanicus

Germanicus visiting Egypt had the curiositie to see the heads of Nile, (that memorable river which had its beginning with the world) and at his returne found that Piso had changed the order in which he had left affaires at his departure, that which he had secured was shaken, and that which he had commanded was despoised. He grew angry, his seruants animated him to resent it, and his dissembling kept not backe his choler, but that it was made manifest by his words, & his reuenge by his threatnings, Piso retired himselfe: Germanicus fell sicke: Piso who knew how farre the disease would goe, went not farre off, and the violence of the poyson hastened his death.

Nilus cuius in-
narrabilis natu-
ra est, cum mun-
do traxit princi-
pia. Sen.

Amici acceden-
dis effusionibus
callidi. Tacit.

Ah cruell! Heare the words of this Prince when he was dying and those dying words which shall eternally line in the memory of the Romans. I dye miserable in the flower of mine age by the treason of Piso and Plancina. I coniuere you my friends to make it be seene to the people of Rome, that these wickednesses haue cut the throat of the Nephew of Augustus, and of six small children. What hearts are these, which these words will not bray and bruse? And dost thou yet line Piso? and doth the Sun yet giue thee light? Thy conscience not knowing where to hide thee, hath conducted thee hither to be punished, and could not consent to the security which thou soughtest after elsewhere, so that as she hath failed thee to dissolve this crime, she her selfe hath betrayed thee to conduct thee to punishment. What hast thou done after this Parricide? Thou visitedst the Cities of Asia: Thou spentst thy time at the faire houses of Achaia. This was done to no other end but to make the proofes vaine, the witnesses to die, wee

The last words
of a dying
Prince in-
crease the
complaint a-
gainst the au-
thors of his
death.

Tutum aliquod
res in mala con-
scientia prestat,
nulla securum.
Sen.

subdola mora
scelerum proba-
tiones subuertit.
Tac.

must now (O yee conscript Fathers) put Piso in the estate of a vanquished man to reduce him to that of an accused.

*Mihi fastes
vis Prætorii, mi-
hi legiones dant.
Tac.*

He did not as that honest man Valerius Publicola did, who being accused quitted his house of Velia and lodged in the village, to the end that they might take no paines in searching for him, He that is innocent shuns not iudgement, and he that is culpable keepes himselfe a loose from the iudges.

*When great
ones are accu-
sed, they ought
to suffer them-
selues to bee
found easily.*

If any man had accused him for taking Armes, he purposed to haue shadowed it vnder the Command which he had in Syria vnder Germanicus his Generall, if to haue medled with the monies of the publike, he perswaded himselfe that that parte thereof which he should keepe for his friends might saue the cost. Hee may free himselfe for a little who hath stolen much.

*Venenum nodo
crinum occulta-
tum, nec ulla in
corpore signa
sumpti exitu re-
perta, Tacit.*

If Martina that famous sorceresse and empoisonnesse, the great friend o Plancina had not bin dead, she would haue discovered al the secrets of this treason. The friends of Germanicus would haue had her beene brought to Rome, but when she was at Brundisium she dyed suddenly, and the poyson hid in the knots of her haire appeared not at all in her body.

*Suorum insidijs
externas inter-
gentes occidit.
Tacit.*

If the truth may be ayded by presumptions, no man can say that this Prince, who hath found lesse securitie among his owne then amongst strangers, was killed by any other then Piso: who durst haue enterprized it? he had offended no man but him, and for the resentment of this offence, he was declared his enemy and thrust himselfe into his charge, and euery man knowes it is hard to seuer the desire of death from that of the succession.

One once in this place of a Proscript man who to enjoy the goods of his wife, told her that he would kill himselfe, she added that she would accompanie him. He prepared the deadly drugges but with such cunning, that he drinking first left the poyson, which by reason of the ponderousnesse thereof, sunke downe to the bottome for his wife to drinke: she died, he was well enough and enjoyed the goods which she had left by her testament. Seldome any scape of that poyson which is given by an heire.

So Lepidus followed her husband Julius Sabinus in Vespasians time

Who reioyceth more at the death of any then he that hath procured it, and who desireth it more ardently then he that hath waited for it more impatiently? How did Piso take this? He sacrificed and slew burnt offerings: Plancina was so transported with this ioy, that she laid aside her griefe which she began to apprehend for the death of her sister, and adorned her selfe in the richest and best garments she had.

Lullius later called in mulatus. The

This accusation abounded with so many diuersities, and the resolution to make an end of Germanicus was furnished with so many Mischiefes, that they oppressed him, and carried him headlong into the folly of this discourse, and he had much to doe to range it into any order. I had forgotten to shew how Piso sent spies to discover the weake estate of Germanicus, and the accidents that hapned thereupon. This grieved the sicke person and vexed his soule, not for feare, for he was neuer afraid of death but for anger and sorrow, apprehending that assoone as breath was out of his body Piso would usurp the command of his forces, and his wife should be at his appointment. Piso also was somewhat wearie that the poyson wrought so slowly and

Not ordinatur. qd. precipitatur & properat. Se.

that

This is a very
sensible griefe
to die in the
fight of ones
enemy and to
leauue his wife
and his chil-
dren to his
power.

When the Ro-
mans would
breake friend-
ship with any
one, they
would aduer-
tize him of it
and forbad him
their house.
Titus Livius.

*Maleficijs mi-
me numinibus
inferni sacra.*
Tacit.

*Moderatur em-
fui, qui vult
proprius regredi.*
Tacit.

that it had no sooner wrought it's effect, and entered into Syria, to be more neere the legions and to serue himselfe with them vpon occasion: This was the cause why Germanicus said of his distresse: Well then, if I must needs dye by the cunning of mine enemy and that he must see me render vp my spirit, what shall be found out for my wife? How shall she be dealt with-
all? What shall become of my children, who in this accident will not want teares to bewaile me, and will haue no words at all to lament themselues? Let that come to passe which the heauens haue determined, *Piso* hath taken away my life: but he hath left me the courage, and I doe not finde my selfe brought to that weakenesse, that I euer will consent that the murderer shall gaine his reward by my death. Vpon this he sent a letter vnder his hand importing that he held him his enemy, that he forbad him to come into his house, and so to sojourn there in that Province.

For none doubted but that the witchcraft seconded the poyson, when they saw the bones of dead men plucked from their members and tyed to the walles and feeling of his Chamber, the characters of charmes and imprecations, Germanicus his name ingrauen in plates of Lead, of ashes halfe burnt and made into paste with the putrifaction of vlcers and other witchcrafts and impieties, which they vse to do vnto any one to death sacrificing him to the infernall gods.

Although this Prince was dying and euen at the last cast, yet *Piso* feared & by his commandement tooled the Anchor and retired himselfe: but he went not very farre, that he might not haue farre to returne when hee should haue advertisement of his death. And if
all

all this put together serves not to convince them, where would be the truth should seek and proofes?

So that (ye Conscript Fathers) you see before your eyes a man who hath brought from the womb of his mother violence and the spirit of rebellion, far be it from me of a father who followed the partie of Brutus and Cassius: He is not onely an extortioner, but a theefe, not a quarreller but a raiser of sedition, not an enemy but a rebell, not a murderer but an assassin, never any delinquens hath given you more pressing cause to dispatch him then he; for the accursednesse of his crime will constrain you to condemn him, and if in despite of the gods and of men, you pardon him, it will be impossible to save him out of the hands of the people, who attend his unfitness: and hearken (O ye Conscript Fathers) how they cry in this pulace, there is not a woman so little that doth not promise to her selfe to tearre of some haire of his head.

Represent to your selves that the ioy of the people is when they see the chiefe Authors of rebellion drawing behind the triumphall Chariot, and on the morrow after executed in reparation of the inhumanities and cruelties they have done in the Provinces; they will be more content when they shall see Piso go to be punished.

The people will lose their patience if you pronounce not speedily the solemn sentence. Hangman take this Parricide, this robber, this rebell, bind his hands, blind his eyes, tye him to a miserable gallows: And who knoweth if this multitude transported with griefe and sorrow will stay there; if they wil content themselves with one alone, and that they fall not upon those who favour this wicked man esteeming them more wicked then he.

Cicero said the
offence of
res constrained
the Judges to
condemne
him.

Great honours
are bestowed
which type
these things
before them.

When he that
triumpheth
passeth by the
Capitoll he
sendeth his
prisoners to
the Magian
strut and
dares not
leave them to
his owne
house. Cicero,
L. Licor, collige
manus, caput
obmutato, arbori
infelici suspende
dio. Cicero.

Non minus scelus
in R. P. com-
misi reus quam
qui cum a tam
nefarijs sceleri-
bus sententia sua
liberant. Cic.

In case of
iudgement of
persons of
quality, we
must consider
the time and
the reason of
State.

Eloquentia nulli
tota contingit.
Sen.

Great honors
are burthens
which tyre
those that
beare them.
Ludos facit for-
tuna. Sen.

Unhappy is
that dignity
which hath no
credence at all
with the
Prince.

No no: (yee conscript fathers) they will not bee
mocked, the matter is too important, the consequence too
great, and this man such a one that there is too much
danger to commit a fault in his case. Beleeue I pray
you, that neither the accused, nor the time, nor the place,
nor the reason of state, nor the qualities of the parties
can consent that they should be bereaued of the example,
that he should be deliuered in secret, or that hee should
not be executed in publike.

Marcus Lepidus who had as much eloquence as
he possibly could haue, for neuer any man had all,
speaking for Piso answered the accusers in this
manner:

It is a great unhappinesse (yea conscript fathers) for
poore Piso to haue beene happy. Great honors serue
sometimes to the felicitie of them that deserue them not
at all, and those who haue first merited them shall finde
their ruine by a strange extrauagancie, or a iugling of
fortune, who giuing to others contentments, to this man
giues nothing but trouble.

The great seruices performed by Piso to Augustus
obliged the Emperour to make him Lieutenant to Ger-
manicus, but this honor was accompanied with so many
thwartings that his faithfulnessse found no fauour, nor his
counsell any credence in the heart of this young Prince,
who being not affrighted by encountering of things im-
possible eleuated his thoughts aboue his dutie, threatning
the Sunne of obscuritie, the Ocean of bondage, whence a-
rose those thoughts of greatnesse which troubled those of
the Emperour.

His affection to his Countrey, his faith to his Prince
obliged him to watch over his actions, which he found al-
wayes

waies so bold and high, that he beleued that this young Hercules had not yet attempted to mount aboue the Starres neither handsomely nor peaceably, and that hee would enter by a breach to the ruine of the Empire. These designs of an unbridled ambition could not come to any happy end, and Piso was not a whit astonished, when the Priest of the oracle of Apollo told him at Colophon that he should not continue there very long, for the charge which hee had undertaken was too weighty for his forces.

Nec in astra len-
ta veniet via-
ter ruina queres.
Sen. Tr.

Necessesse est op-
primant omnia
qua ferent ma-
iora sunt Sen.

But as Princes loue better to be flattered in their errors than aduertised in their duties, he presently remained distasted, that *Piso* loued rather to displease him with truth, than to be agreeable to him with flattery. He conceived that his freeness was presumption, when he shewed him the way from which hee had swarued and that which he ought to hold, especially when he told him that he did wrong to the Maiestie of the Empire, when he treated common men so respectfully and so courteously that sinke of *Athenians*, who alwaies followed the party contrary to ours, neither was it euer without some practise of revolt towards vs, hauing assisted *Antistridates* against *Sylla* & *Antony* against *Augustus*. Was it by the counsell of *Piso* that he went into *Egypt* against the ancient ordinance of *Augustus*, who left it you for a secret of estate neuer to permit great persons to goe into *Egypt*, because reuolking against vs they might there with a few men resist a great army, and prohibiting the bringing of corne from thence might famish *Italy*.

Malis ueris of-
fendere quam
placere adules-
Sen.

Quod colluuiem
illam nationum
comitate nimis
coluisset. Tac.

Inter alia domi-
nationis arcana
Augustus vesti-
tu seposuit
Egyptum. Ta.
Levi praesidio in-
gentes exercitus
coercentur. Tac.

Call to your memory (O *Cesar*) (but let nothing of importance escape you) the displeasure you receiued

In vulgus grata,
sine militum ince-
dere pedibus, in-
tellectus & pari-
cum Gracii a-
midu. Ta.

Tenu mendaci-
um pellucet. Se.

Non minus vi-
tandum super-
vacanea dicere
quam contraria.
Sen.

Absurdum inter
aliena seruitia
& tot astantium
visu. Tacit.

Si patrem pul-
saverit, manus ei
præcidatur. Se.

Offerebat fami-
liam reus &
ministrabat tor-
menta. Ta.

There is no-
thing so foule
as an injury
which retur-
neth against
him that hath
spoken it.
Plus.

when *Piso* aduertised you that this young Prince di-
rected all his actions to vanity and ambition; that to
gaine the hearts of the people, he gaue them great gra-
tuities of money and of corne that he marched with-
out guards, on foot, meanelly attended, and went ap-
parelled after the Greeke manner as at another time
Scipio had done.

All the furies of hell could not inuent a more dere-
stable Calumny then of this poyson whereof *Piso* is
accused, but it is so minced and subtile, that falshood
may be transparently scene through it. How is it pos-
sible that you *Vitellius* who haue your eyes open and
a cleare iudgement, not to speake of superfluous things,
you now affirme contrary. What apparence is there
that *Piso* eating at the table of *Germanicus* who alwaies
observed him diligently, had the leisure to take the poi-
son to rub his fingers to waste his victualls. Is this easie
in another mans house in the presence of a Prince to
whom they giue so much trust, who hath so many eies
that watch ouer all.

If this be true let *Piso* consent, not that the hand
which hath donethis Parricide may be cut off, but
that the heart which hath conceiued it may be pluck't
aflue out of his breast, and that to finde out the truth
none may hinder but that the racke may be giuen to all
his family and all his seruants.

He is not altogether without fault, there is no man
exempt, Diamonds haue their blemishes, the fairest
vilages their spots, but he is neither wicked nor a traitor.
Those that reproach him of pride are not without ar-
rogance; if he be cholerick they are violent, he neuer
attempted against the life of princes.

If.

If he hath exercised any severity in his charge hee rather did it out of duty then of his owne inclination. It is for Princes to seeke to make themselves to be beloued, and for Magistrates to make themselves to be feared. If he failed in his respect and affection towards *Germanicus*, it is also a very hard matter to be constrained to loue those who haue resolved and sworne ones ruine. *Germanicus*, as all great men, had written the seruices of *Piso* in the sands and all his offences in Marble, if wee may so call those sincere and faithfull aduises which he gaue vnto him for his good gouernment.

He confessed that *Germanicus* his death had drawne out of his heart a growing thorne, and a wearisome feare that he was very ioyfull to see his house deliuered from so puissant an enemy, *Tiberius* from a Nephew so ambitious, the Empire from a Prince so vndertaking. *Germanicus* would haue ruined *Piso* and the heauens ruined *Germanicus*, and by his death made him know that there is a Iustice aboue, that auengerh the violences of the great ones vpon the little ones. It is permitted to them to spit in our faces or to set their feet vpon our throates to raise themselves aboue vs, yet the smallest thing Creatures haue had Iustice ouer the Eagle. There is nothing so sweete as reuenge, what soeuer it cost, this is a viand which one may swallow downe without chewing.

But *Piso* neuer attempted against his life, although he desired his death, and being assured that it was naturall, this is a great wickednesse to saie that it was violent: the gods would haue it so. It is not permitted to dispute neither with studied arguments nor by way of discourse of their power.

Magistrates ought to be more curious to make themselves to be feared than to be beloued.

There is nothing so naturall as to hate those who persecute vs.

The Eagle hauing snatcht vp the little rabbits the damme vndermines the tree and throwes downe the Eagles nest, and the Eagles remaine at her mercy.

Ala & impia consuetudo contra Deos disputandi, pro ex animo id fiat sic ve similes.

Cic.

If

*Prompta Pisoni
Legionum stur-
dia.*

*Amor affectus
liber qui vices
exigit. Plin.*

*Ferina rabies
sanguine gaude-
re. Sen.*

*Nihil tam peri-
culosum fortunis
innocentium,
quam tacere ad-
versarios. Cic.*

*A tribuno dede-
rit, vario rumo-
re, custes salutis
an mortis ex-
actos. Tac.*

If he had sought to gaine any credite amongst the men of warre this was but onely to lessen that of *Germanicus*. His ambition tended to ruine, that of *Piso* to conseruation: the one administred ieaiousie to *Tiberius* and the other was a bridle to *Germanicus*. If he gained the goodwill of the Prouinces was hee forbidden to cherish it? Are not affections free? what harme is it then if they be rendred reciprocally.

But he affected rather to submit himselfe to the bounty of *Cesar* then obstinately to put himselfe to the defence of his innocency. He implored with ioyned hands this Royall vertue which detesteth the brutish thirst of bloud, and beseecheth you great Prince to imitate the heauens which haue more thunder to make men afraid, then lightning to punish them.

If all bee inexorable, and that the accusers hasten to take and snatch away that soule which they haue already so stirred and turmoyled, he will dye with this Consolation, that his innocency hath found no protection and that he chose rather to perish then to offend those who might saue him.

There was some obscurity in the accusation of the empoysoning, this was a *Pyramide* which shewed not it selfe all at once, for of three sides there is alwayes one which cannot be seene: *Piso* and *Plancia* his wife appeared, but the third hid *Tiberius* and *Tiberius Sejanus*.

This first audience being finished *Piso* came forth, and the people were so much prouoked against him, that if they had not put him into a Coach with some to guard, it he had neuer retorned to his house neither safe nor aliue. That which the vulgar sort could not

do

doe to his person they did to his representation drawne to the Gibbet.

Plaucina his wife who had promised him to runne alike fortune with him, forsooke him to fall to lightnesse, a vice naturall to that sexe: and being assured of her life by the fauour of the Empresse she cared no more for that of *Piso*, and abandoned him as if she had neuer married him, but to partake of his prosperity.

The Iudges out of diuerse respects were implacable against the accused. *Cesar* would haue had him put to death because he had entred into the Prouince in armes, the *Senate* beleueed assuredly that *Germanicus* was poysoned, and amongst violent deaths poysoning was held to be the greatest execration: so much the rather that because thereby persons most deere and precious were snatch't from the Commonwealth: that poyson entred and mingled it selfe more easily in vessells of gold then of earth. There is no *Antidote* which is of greater vertue or efficacy against poyson, then a private Condition, which feareth not that avarice can vsurpe vpon his goods nor enuy vpon his dignities. It was certaine neuerthelesse that this em-poysoning was neuer clearly proued, nor confidently affirmed by the accusers. It was neither spoken of in *Antioch* or in *Rome* but according to the affection that men bare towards the deceased, or the hatred towards the liuing.

Tacitus saith that it was not certaine that any tokens of poyson appeared vpon his death, *Suetonius*, that he was scene couerd ouer with Purple spots, a foame about his mouth and that his hart was found whole amongst

Portia said, that she was not partner onely at the bed and at the table of her husband, as a concubine: but that she was companion of his good and ill fortune as his wife.

Plut.

This opinion was common and *Iosephus* as- sureth it.

One dranke in a siluer vessell a franticke loue potion in stead of Greeke wine and amidst *Ambrosia* one tooke *Arsenicke* in a golden plate which tooke away his life.

Veneri crimen accusatores non satis firmabant.
Tac.

Prætoris venefici signa, parum constiterunt.
Tac.

Livores toto corpore, spume per os fluebant, cor inter ossa in corruptione. Suet. Genre morbi defensus est Piso. Plin.

Negatur cor cremari posse in his qui cardiaco morbo obierint & veneno interemptis. Plin.

Nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberius sine misericordia obfirmatam clausulam vidit. Tac.

He that is convinced of one crime is punished for many. In offences against the State they make no recompence at all according to the merit of the offence.

mongst the ashes. *Pliny*, that *Vitellius* pressed *Piso* hard vpon this who made the arrowe rebound against them that shot it; and as some affirmed that *Germanicus* hauing beene poysoned, his heart resisted the fire, others maintained that *Germanicus* dying of a disease of the heart, his heart could not be burnt. Thus the *Hypothesis* alwayes remained in question and aswell the one as the other had truth on its side, being alike true according to *Pliny* that the heart of those who dye of poyson or of the disease of the heart consumeth not in the fire. But the worst piece of *Pisos* proces was the extream boldnesse of the people, who taking the report for prooff cryde out at the gate of the *Pallace* that they would doe Iustice vpon *Piso* if it were not done.

All this astoned *Piso* very much, who the second day appeared before the *Senate*, to see if they were any whit changed from their former severity. He found the aye quite of a contrary temper, *Tiberius* so cold that for feare to discover himselfe he inclined neither to choler to ruine him nor to pittie to giue him any hope. He conceived thereupon that he had no other refuge neither for his innocency nor for his truth. *Seianus* told him neuerthelesse that *Tiberius* would strike the stroke when it should be fit time, and that he would not suffer him to perish. Others affright him saying that although he were declared innocent for the death of *Germanicus*, they would put him to death for other crimes. For *Tiberius* was so altered vpon that, that he was entred in armes into *Syria*, that he would make an him example, not permitting that his seruies should make compensation for his fault.

Seianus

Seianus cared not at all to loose *Piso* and provided alwayes that he spake not of the secret Commandement, but he feared that seeing him condemned he might not complaine to the *Senate* of the Iudgement, and of his punishment to the Emperor, and that although he spake not against *Tiberius*, yet he might against him. The consideration of his children extinguished in his minde all the resentment of the iniurie which he suffered, and seeing himselfe about to perish he was desirous to perish alone. And to the end their innocency might bee seuered from his punishment, hee writ a letter to *Tiberius* beseeching him to take pittie vpon them, and this being done hee resolved to make an end of himselfe by cutting his owne throate. He dyed not for feare of death, but that he might not die according to the pleasure of his enemies. If there be any thing irksome in a publique death, it is especially for the griefe and shame of the contentment that one giues to their enemies.

The interest of children preuaileth about that of the parents.

This is a fury, to die for feare of death.

When this death was reported to the *Senate*, one might obserue griefe in *Tiberius* his countenance, but it was feined and to stupifie these Iudgements which any might make to the prejudice of this accident, and to assure his Countenance for his discourse hee informed amongst other things of that which *Piso* had done the day before and how hee passed the night. There were some of them that answered discreetly, others more inconsiderately as in such occasions, some there are who will not seeme to know that which one would haue them ignorant of.

Cesar flexo in maestitiam ore.
Tacit.

Plerumq; sapienter quodam in consilio. Tac

Vpon this *Tiberius* read the letters that *Piso* had written

F. h. m. written

*Conspirations
inimicorum &
invidia falsi cri-
minis veritati
& innocentia
nunquam locus.
Tac.*

written to him in this manner. Since that (Cesar)
I see my selfe oppressed thorough the conspiracy of
mine enemies, and the violence of a false accusation
which permitteth not any place in the Senate, neither
for the truth, nor for my innocency, the gods are my
witnesses that I haue neuer failed of faithfulness to-
wards you, nor of reuerence towards your mother, and
in that respect I beseech you to thinke upon my children.

*Qualiscunque
fortune meae
non est adiun-
ctum. Tac.*

Gn: Piso ought to haue no part in my fortune what-
soeuer it bee, for he hath not stir'd from Rome. M:
Piso dissuaded mee from going into Syria, and I wish
that the Father had accommodated himself to the youth
of the Sonne, and that the Sonne had not giuen way
to the age of the father. For this cause, I beseech you,
with great earnestnesse that his innocency beare not the
punishment of mine obstinacy: and seeing my selfe in
that state that I shall neuer desire any thing more of
you. I coniure you by 45. yeeres seruice, by the accompt
that Augustus your Father held of mee, when I was
his Colleague in the Consulship, and for the friend-
ship which you haue borne towards me to saue my
poore children.

*Pravitate po-
tius inimicus
non luat. Tac.*

He spake not at all of his wife, and how should
he be mindfull of her, who had forgotten him in
this extreame distresse, and who had perhaps pro-
mised the Empresse and *Sejanus* to open his cham-
ber doore to let in murtherers to kill him.

*Nihil quicquam
post hac rogatu-
rus salutem in-
felicitis filij rogo.
Tac.*

Tiberius hauing read the letters said, that although
Piso had deserued this mishap whereinto hee was
headlongly rushed: yet he pittied him for the alone
respect of his house, that it was reasonable notwith-
standing to conserue the branches of the tree which
was cut downe, and not to cause his punishment to
passe

passe vpon his innocent children, that absence dis-
 charged the one and the command of the father ex-
 cused the other, and that for this cause they ought
 not to be comprised vnder the offence of taking of
 armes. As for *Plancina*, he intreated the *Senate* to
 yeeld her to the intreaties of his mother. The whole
 assembly was offended at the impudency and impie-
 ty of this demand, honest folke murmured against
 this woman, as the cause that *Germanicus* was dead
 and that *Piso* was slaine. Well then (said they) the
Empresse shall haue the credit of sauing the marthe-
 rer of her Grandchild to see her, to comfort her for the
 death of her husband, to snatch her out of the hands of the
Senate. Will not the *Lawes* grant that to *Germanicus*
 which they deny not to the meanest Citizen? *Vitellius* &
Veranius who had no correspondency which *Germani-*
cus haue deeply lamented his death, and shall *Augustus*
 his Grandfather defend *Plancina* who hath beene cause
 of his death? and who can expect other from her, then
 that the force of her poysons and witcheries hauing had
 such fortunate successe, she may imploy them also against
Agrippina and her children, to satisfie the thirst of their
 Grandfire and the *Vncle* with the blood of this mis-
 erable family, and to appease the wrath of *Sejanus*.

The opinions being recollected *Aurelius Cotta*
 said, that the memory of *Piso* ought to be extirpa-
 ted, and his name rased and blotted out of the pub-
 lique Registers and *Annales*, the moiety of his goods
 confiscate, the other parte giuen to *Gn. Piso* his son
 to change his name: that *M. Piso* should bee deprived
 of his Offices, and banished for ten yeares with 500.
Sesterces for his entertainment, that *Plancina* should

Patris iussa fili-
us non potest de-
trudere. Tac.

Plancina inter-
fecitricem nepo-
tis adspicere, ad-
loqui, eripere
Senatus i Tac.

Veneris & artes
semel feliciter
experta in alie-
rius exitum fa-
cile vertuntur.
Ta.

Nomina scelera-
torum e fastis
radenda. Ta.

Concessa Planci-
na incoluntias
ob preces Augu-
sti. Tacit.

haue her life granted to her in regard of the requests of the Empresse. Euery one allowed of this aduise.

*Pudore flagitiij
princeps placabi-
tur sic Tac.*

Tiberius who had what he desired sweetned the rigor of this iudgement, for the hatred of the absolution of *Plancina* made him lesse seuerer towards her sonnes, not holding it conuenient that hee should pardon the mother being a Murtheresse to condemne the innocent children. He said that the name of *Piso* should remaine in the *Kalenders*, as well as that of *Antony* who had made war against his Country. *Messalina* said, that he ought to hang vp a golden ensigne in the Temple of *Mars* the auenger and *Cecinna Senerus* an altar to reuenge. No (saith *Tiberius*) that is not fitting but only in case of victories gotten of strangers; we must couer domesticke miseries with sadnesse.

*Domestica mala
tristitia operien-
da Tac.*

*Facillima non est
uolentia precipi-
tanda Tac.*

*Rerum humana-
rum ubiq; ludi-
bris Tac,
Audri ex senio-
ribus qui ad no-
stram usq; iuuen-
tam durauerunt.
Tac.*

Fulcinus Trio who had so mightily declaimed against *Piso* besought him to ayde him, with his fauour to arriue to his offices, he answered him. Take heed of precipitating your eloquence through the impetuosity of your passion; he was angry that he had too much pressed *Piso* touching this poyson, for all the words which hee spake of this subiect touched him to the quick: he was desirous that he would represent *Agrippinaes* passion without shewing himselfe passionate. Behold how these vanities of humane things end.

Tacitus saith to this purpose: I remember that I haue heard in my youth of some of this time who had often scene certaine peeces of writing in the hands of *Piso* which he neuer published, but that his friends told euery where, that they conteyned the Commission and commands that *Tiberius* had giuen him against *Germanicus*; and that he had resolved to haue produced them

them in the Senate to conuince the Prince, but that *Se-
ianus* had deceiued him through his vaine promises
and that he was not slaine by him, but that he had sent
one to slay him in the night.

Death freed *Piso*, but *Tiberius* and *Seianus* were ac-
compted neuer the more innocent, and one might eu-
ry night heare cries about the *Pallace*. Restore to vs
Germanicus.

This death whether it were voluntary or forced, di-
minished the hatred of the people against *Piso* and in-
creased it against *Tiberius*, and so much the more in that
he had saued his wife, and hauing brought this misera-
ble man into the pit would not drawe him forth againe.

If *Piso* had left his cause to the course of iustice and
law, and that he had suffered death as one who neuer had
feared it, one would haue pittied his misery. There is no
life so odious that ending in publique with constancy
and modesty, changeth not hatred into pittie, pittie into
fauour, and leaueth not some fauourable opinion of in-
nocency.

Germanicus his death gaue lesse contentment to *Se-
ianus* than to *Tiberius*, for this Prince held all their re-
solutions in check. *Tiberius* knew that so long as he li-
ued he should not be Emperor. *Seianus* despaired that he
euer could be, and that he might dispose of the Empire
so absolutely as he did after wards, for this Prince kept
him short, and as it were in a strict dyet. The great af-
fection which he held in the hearts of the great ones,
middle ones and meanes ones, mightily crossed his am-
bition. But after his death fortune bare him vp the
wind so, that his pride and insolence split the sayles of
his vessell and of his conduct.

*Lupum auribus
peneo.*

Dion & Tac.

*Liboni praevius
Pompeius, amica
Scribonia, conso-
brini Caesaris.
Tac.*

Tiberius beleened that he had more authority, but he was neuer the lesse mistrustfull, imagining that so many friends as *Germanicus* had left, so many conspirators there were and therefore he said, that he held the Empire but as a wolfe by the eares, fearing least it should escape him, & being escaped bite him; he feared that every one had a purpose to take it from him. He caused the natiuities of the principle men of *Rome*. to be cast, and according as it was reported vnto him that their Starres promised some excellency aboue others, he suppressed, banished and put them to death. He vnderstood that *Galba* might attaine thereunto, and therefore meeting with him the day he was married, he said vnto him, and thou *Galba* shalt one day tast of the Empire, and yet hee enterprised nothing against him, because this dignitie was fatally destined for him.

Seianus amongst the precepts of his gouernment had this, to nourish distrust alwayes in the heart of *Tiberius*, to the end that he trusting none else might put confidence in him. The greater houses which were descended, from those brave and generous spirits, who were sacrificed for preserving the libertie of their Countrey, were suspected of *Tiberius*; who desired to raise the principality aboue the foundation of *Augustus*, and hatefull to *Seianus* who could not brooke, that vertue should oppose his fortune. *Libo Drusus* being descended by his father from *Augustus*, and by his mother from *Pompey* the great was one of the principall yong men of *Rome*, and as this birth giuing hope to his courage, gained him respect amongst the

the great ones, so the same was the cause of his fall.

His youth being forward and without iudgement, carryed him to thoughts higher then the times permitted them, and hee was for this cause alwayes so suspected by *Tiberius*, that being at the sacrifices, hee commanded the Master of the Ceremonies to giue to *Libo* one of the *Sacrificers* a knife of lead, to the end that he should attempt nothing against his person. Another time he demanding audience in secret, he caused his sonne *Drusus* to come thither, and feining to haue neede to be supported in his walking, hee held fast *Liboes* right hand, who spake to him, carrying his eye firmly vpon all his motions. This young man had one of the *Romane Senators* his entire friend, who plotted his ruine, considering that to aduance his fortune the shortest way, was to ruinate those that shadowed that of *Sejanus*. Hee possessed this light spirit, that there was some great matter written in heauen for him, hee lead him to debauched courses which drew on excessive expenses, and he conducted him into those discommodities, that this naughty friend did nothing but lull him a sleepe with nothing but vaine hopes. Necessitie made him dreame, to what hee should come, and put him into the curiosity to informe himselfe of *Astrologers*, of that which the starres had promised him, the ordinary refuge of weake minds that seeke patronage. To know more also, his friend caused him to conferre with *Magicians*, who demanded of their *Devils* that which they knew, and who told him nothing true; for a little after all his hopes were turned into despaire.

*Desertur molis
res nouas. Ta.*

*Iuuenis impro-
vidus & facile
inanius. Ta.*

*Hortatur ad
luxum & a-
licum facinus li-
bidinum & ne-
cessitatum, quo
pluribus indicis
indagaret. Ta.*

The

*Tib. non vultu
alienatus non
verbis commoti-
or cuncta eius
dicta factaque
cum prohibere
posset siue ma-
lebat. Ta.*

*Reus obsoletius
vestiebatur. Cic.*

*It was not per-
mitted to sicke
persons to goe
in their Litter
but to the dore
of the Senate.*

*Quod in Traga-
dia Agamemno-
nem probis le-
uissimum. Suet.*

*He that bla-
meth the fa-
uour of the
Prince bla-
meth his
iudgement.*

The Senator reported all this to *Tiberius*, who was glad to see this yong man fall into the pit, and yet neuerthelesse he forbore not to shew him good countenance to giue him the estate of a *Pretor*, and sent for him often to his Table. Vpon a suddaine he causeth him to be accused to the Senate as of a great enormous and important matter. Behold him brought now into the state of an accused man, he changeth his garments, the chiefe Ladies of the Citle being a kinne to him sollicite for him; there's no man will meddle with his defence, for when the question is of conspiracy against the Prince, all intercessions are suspected, and fauours, crimes. He goeth to the Pallace in a Lictica, for this blow being not fore-seene had abated the vigor of his health, and sustained by the hand of his brother, he entreth the Senate house, and when he saw *Tiberius* a great way off, he held vp his hands imploring mercy with great humility.

This Tigre laid hold with his teeth on all the excellent Spirits of his times. A Poet hauing vttered some free words against him, was put to death; not for that, but because in a certaine Tragedy he had disgraced *Agamemnon*, and transgressed against the respect due to Kings. *Tiberius* punished the offences against *Seianus*, as rigorously as those against himselfe; for they made him beleue that hee receiued the Counter-buffe of all that was done against him. Princes are offended when we blame their favorites, because it seemes we accuse the weakenesse of their iudgements in the election of a Subiect vnworthy their fauour. The workeman is obliged to protect his workmanship, the painter is angry if one cast durt on the Table he hath painted,

red, They seeke out old faults to serue for new exam-
 ples of seuerity. The Senate had ordained that *Seianus*
 his Statue should be erected in *Pompeis* theatre, which
Tiberius had caused to be reedified, *Cordus* stung with
 this iniury done to the memory of *Pompey*, cried out
 that that was not the way to doe but to vndoe, and to
 place *Seianus* aboue the heades of all the *Romans* and
 to set vp a simple souldier on the Monument of a re-
 nowned Captaine. He said true, but truth doth not
 excuse indiscretion, which beareth inconsiderately the
 censure of great ones. *Seianus* remembered it, yet ac-
 cuseth him not for it, but disposeth *Tiberius* to looke
 into his life, of which, all the parts were found inno-
 cent and praiseworthy : but his writings are likewise
 examined, and a history which he had penned of *An-*
gustus, and which *Augustus* himselfe had read. Hee
 was accused that he had not sufficiently extolled *Caesar*
 nor *Augustus*, and that he had too much praised *Brutus*,
 and to haue termed *Cassius* the last man among the
Romans.

Satrius Secundus and *Pinarus Natta* were his accu-
 sers, *Seianus* his creatures; and this quality made the ru-
 ine of the accused vnfalible, and put his innocency in-
 to despaire. The Iudge himselfe made him perceiue
 by his sad countenance and terrible language, that hee
 was set there not to heare, but to condemne him ; not
 to make his proceffe but to appoint his punishment ;
 neither did *Cordus* moue for the safety of his life, for he
 was sure to lose it ; but for the honour of the truth, and
 glory of his workes, he spake in this manner,

My actions are so innocent, that they accuse onely
 my words ; and yet haue they not offended neither the

G

Emperor

Qui non rompa-
 retur supra cin-
 res Gn. Pompey
 constituere Seia-
 num? Sen.

Novum ac pri-
 mum auditum
 crimen. Ta.

Plat.

Le credit des
 accusateurs,
 cest le defes-
 poir del accu-
 sés.

Seiani clientes,
 id perniciabile
 res. Tac.

L'innocence
 des actions
 doit excuser le
 faute de parol-
 les.

Verba mea ar-
 guuntur, adeo
 sum factorum
 innocens.

Il ny a point
d'historien,
qui ne se passi-
one pour l'un
ou pour l'autre.

Scipio perso-
nage digne de
toute louange
bellique. *Plut.*

Afranius
Lieutenant de
Pompeie con-
tre les Parthes
et Arabes. *Plut.*

Cassius enne-
my de tyrans
de son enfance.
Plut.

Brutus bien-
volu du peuple,
aimé des siens
estimé de gens
du bien, hay de
nul. Voy l'épi-
gramme 30 de
Catul.

Convitia preta
exolecent, si i-
rascere, apud
videtur. *Ta.*

Emperor nor his mother, who onely are comprehended within the law of Maiesty. They say I haue praised *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whose actions are reported by many, and there is none who haue reported them without honour. *Titus Livius* to whom is attributed the prize of eloquence and truth, did so highly commend *Pompey*, that *Augustus* called him *Pompejan*, which neuerthelesse made no breach in their friendship.

He useth not the names of Robbers and Parricides which now are imposed vpon *Scipio*, *Afranius*, this *Cassius* and this *Brutus*, but he often stiles them braue and valiant men. The history of *Asinius Pollio* makes honourable mention of them: *Messala Corvinus* extolled *Cassius* as being his generall, and that did preiudice neither of them, but that they were mighty in riches and honours. *Cesar* the Dictator contented himselfe with answering in a written Oration, as before his Iudges the booke which *Cicero* composed railing to the heauens *Cato* his enemy. The Epistles of *Antony* and speeches of *Brutus* reproach *Augustus* with many fals things, expressing them with much bitterness and audacity. The reading of *Bibaculus* and *Catullus* is not giuen ouer though forced with iniuries against the *Cesars*, *Iulius* and *Augustus* haue suffered and contemned them: and it is hard to say whether in that they haue shewne more moderation then wisdome, for calumnies being dispised vanishe away, but in seeking reuenge are confirmed. I doe not speake at all of the *Gracians*, for not onely their liberty but also their temerity escaped unpunished, and if they haue bin chastized by any, words haue bene the reuenge of words. But

it was euer free and without reprehension to speake of
them whom death hath enfranchised, from hate or
fauour: will they object that I haue moued the people
to stirre and take armes for ciuill warres, while Cassius
and Brutus were armed in the Philippiian plaine? there
are sixty and six yeares past since they died, as appears
by their statues which the victorious themselves haue
not pulled downe. Writings also preserve their me-
mories. Posterity rendreth to euery one the honour
which to him appertayneth: and if I be condemned, there
will be some that will call to minde not onely Cassius and
Brutus, but also my selfe.

He had cause to enrich his discourse with the examples of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, for in the world there was not any thing which may bee paralel'd to their generous bounty in pardoning obloquies. *Calvus* the Oratour and *Catullus* the Poet had outrageously detracted from *Cæsar*, the truth placed shame in their foreheads, and repentance in their conscience; *Cæsar* contented himselfe with that, and seeing that *Calvus* desired his friendship, but durst not require it, he offer'd it vnto him by an expresse letter, and for *Catullus* he inuited him to supper the same day that he had published his poeſie against him.

For *Augustus*, I cannot finde his equall, *Timagenes* a noble Historian, did write against him, his wife, his daughter and all his house; he aduised him both to vse his pen and tongue with greater modesty, especially in his owne house, and towards his friends: for *Augustus* nourished him. Extreame ingratitude! he continued his course; *Augustus* being inforced to interrupt him, desired him to retire himselfe from his house.

Afinius Pollio esteeming more the gentlenesse of this spirit then the respect of the Emperor, lodged and entertayned him; *Timagenes* wholly declared himselfe the perpetuall enemy of *Augustus*, burnt the faire history which hee compiled of his reigne, to make it knowne that he deserved not that he should write of him, or that the good he spake of him was but a lie; *Augustus* digested all this, saying onely vnto *Pollio* you nourish a serpent, *Pollio* intending to turne him away to excuse himselfe, he closed his lips saying, keepe him my friend, make vse of him. Is it possible that *Rome* vnder such a Prince would repine to haue lost her liberty, she hath well tried since, what she hath lost in the change; it was the same flock but not the same shepheard.

*Subinde iactat
in ciuitate libe-
ra linguam
mentemque li-
beram esse debere*

*Satis est, si hoc
habemus, ut quis
nobis male facere
possit. D. Aug.*

*Non tantum
habemus otium,
P. C. ut impli-
care nos pluri-
mis negotijs de-
beamus, si hanc
sensum aperu-
eris, nihil aliud
agimus.
D. Tib.*

Wee must needs say that *Seranus* hath strangely corrupted the nature of *Tiberius*, rendring him so seuerely in punishing the iniuries of his predecessors, who made so small reckoning of his owne, and said that in free Cities, mens tongues should not be captiue; *Augustus* gaue him this counsell, for he complaining of his dissimulation against this vnbridled liberty of reproaching him, he writ these words, *Tiberius* my sonne flatter not your youth, nor your choler to beleene there is any speaks ill of me, it is sufficient that we may prevent that they doe vs no harme.

As for him selfe he did but laugh at the *Satires* and *Buffonneries* which they had published against him, and touching that which the Senate would haue giuen him informations of, hee told them we haue not leisure to imbrake our selues in these broiles, and if we open this window, you will be able to do nothing else, and

and you shalbe importuned euery day with particular complaints.

Cordus hauing so stoutly and elegantly spoken retired himselfe vnto his house, very irresolute what course to take, if he desired to liue, he must intreat *Seianus*, if to die, his daughter, both were inexorable: his courage not permitting him to yeeld vnto the one, he resolved to deceiue the other; not to giue any inkling of his resolution he bathed for some dayes, and the better to amuse his daughter after the bath, retired himselfe to his chamber, there to take his refection, and sending away his seruants threw out of the window some part of that they had brought him, to make them beleeue it was the fragments of that which hee did eat. The houre of supper being come, he told his daughter he had no stomack to eat, and that his former collation would serue him in stead of a supper; she did not presse him further, beleeuing all was true, and not supposing that what she approued for his health should be for his death.

He continued in this rigorous deuize vntill the fourth day, his weaknesse displayed it selfe, his extreame sorrow was agreed with abstinence, which was not violent enough to make an end of him in so few dayes, for famine would dispence with many more.

His daughter being so deluded, coniuured him by intreaties and teares, to liue for her sake, and for his owne; these prayers came too late, his glasse is almost runne out, he is at the last period of his life, and then embraced his daughter and said, *Martia* I am too farre aduanced in the way of death to retreate, I am more then halfe way, thou neither oughtest nor canst retaine me.

*Si vivere vellet,
Seianus rogatus
erat, si mori,
filia, uterq; inexorabilis. Constituit filiam saltem,
re. Sen.*

*Al' issue du
bain on portoit
à la chambre
du moult des
crus frais.
Quedam per
sefram, ut vi-
deretur edisse,
proiecit, à cuius
deinde, quasi
iam sat in cur-
biculo edisset,
abstinuit. Sen.*

*Homini non an-
te septimum die-
m letalis inueni-
t: pluris est
ultra modum
num plerisque
certum est. Plin.*

*Iter mortis in-
gressus sum &
iam medium se-
re transire viderem
me nec debere
potui. Sen.*

Et faucibus avi-
diffimorum lupor-
um educitur
præda. Sen.

Magna res erat
in questione an
mortis rei perde-
rentur: dum de-
liberatur, dum
accusatores ite-
rum adveniunt, ille
se absoluerat.
Sen.

Scripta actoris
calamitate. Dio.

Vir Romanus
qui subactis iam
ceruicibus, om-
nium & ad Se-
iani iugum a-
ductis indomitus
fit homo ingenio
animo, manu li-
ber. Sen.

Præsentis poten-
tæ non extingui-
tur sequentis æ-
vi memoria. Ta.

Punitis ingenij
gliscit authori-
tas. Ta.

This done, hee caused the Tapers to bee put out, the better to hide himselfe and steale away in darkenesse: his seruants seeing this his resolution so strong, and so farre aduanced were not a whit sorry that the wolues should misse of their prey: and then it was that his accusers by the commandement of *Seianus* ran to the Consuls to tell them that *Cordus* was a dying, that is to say, that he escaped them, then grew it to a question in Court whether they might hinder an accused person from putting himselfe to death, but while they dispute how to resolue this, and to condemne him he absolues himselfe.

His bookes were burned by the *Ædils*. The calamity of the author and the excellency of the stile made them more famous and with greater curiosity to bee sought after and studied: *Martia* preserved them and restored them to the world to renew the memorie of her father who had writen them with his owne blood, who remayned firme and inuincible when euery man yeilded his neck to the yoke of *Seianus*, and had alwayes shewed both in his discourse, writings and mind, the ancient liberty. Princes deceiue themselves in being too passionate about smothering such writings as displease them, the forbidding them whets on mens desires, and difficulty approoues curiosity; if feare suppresseth them during their liues, they appeare more boldly after their deaths. The punishment of the author augments the reputation of his workes, the punishment it selfe is odious; he which inflicts it is blamed, and he that suffereth hath the honour.

And we finde that this fury against bookes had his beginnig vnder *Tiberius*: for what had it beene, if the
Triumvirs.

Triumurs had proscribed or burnt these of *Cicero*: *Ca-*
ligula, renewed these of *Cordus*, and thought himselfe in-
 teressed so to doe that posterity may know the liues
 and deeds of their predecessors. What contentment is
 it to see the history of so good a pen, of a courage so
 free and bold, of such a discourse as that hee made in
 the Senate, and such an example as *Seneca* left vs vpon
 the death of *Cicero* in these tearmes?

Antony receiued great contentment when one
 brought him the head of *Cicero*, and said that his pro-
 scription was then at an end, for he was not onely sa-
 tisfied, but wearied with the massacre of so many men:
 he commanded it should be exposed to the view of the
 people in the publique place where they made the O-
 rations. In the same place where the people drawne by
 the reputation of his eloquence pressed to follow him,
 where they gave eare vnto his seruiceable speeches
 which haue preserved so many heads, he is now made
 a spectacle vnto his citizens, not with the same ioy or
 in the same manner, they had admired him liuing
 and intire; but the blood couering his head and disfi-
 guring his visage, the same head which in former time
 commanded in the Senate and was the ornament of
 the Romane name, now serues for a recompence to
 him who did seperate it from his body.

All their hearts burst forth into teares and lamenta-
 tions when they beheld his right hand the instrument
 of his diuine eloquence made fast vnto his head: the
 death of all besides himselfe were but particularly la-
 mented; all did ioyne in mourning for this generall
 losse, we are not onely to beleeue the greatnesse, but to
 admire the number of his vertues; when he saw what
 they

*Resp. interst na-
 falia que postu-
 ritate tradan-
 tur. Sen.*

*Non satiatu-
 modo cedendis
 ciuibus, sed de-
 fectus. Sen. P.*

*Pij: concionibus
 multorum capi-
 ta seruauit.
 Sen. P.*

*Ceterorum ca-
 des priuatorum
 luctus excita-
 runt, illa sola
 communis.*

*Optime meruit
de posteris, ad
quos venit in-
corrupta rerum
fides.*

they meant to *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Sextus Pompeius*, he spake these words, *every thing displeaseth me but death.*

Cordus did write the history of his owne time, and it may be that leaving the truth vntainted to posterity, he spake honourably of those that suffered death in defence of their ancient liberty, for the feare of death excuseth not him which offendeth against the truth to please fortune. To publish false storie, or to giue false instructions vnto them that write, is but to murder them that passe thorow the high way of beleefe: retaining in his discourse the same liberty which hee had done in his writings, he contemned the pride of *Seianus* and to deliuer himselfe from the hands of so puissant a man, made it knowne that he was truly a man, withdrawing himselfe from the number of miserable men.

Dion saith that often opinions past against his and that hee was not offended.

Tiberius was wont to say, I am Lord of slaves, Emperour of souldiers, and prince of all the rest.

This misery was not so frequent amongst the Romans while *Germanicus* liued, these two lions as yet kept in their claws: feare ruled the actions of *Tiberius* and necessity bridled the insolency of *Seianus*: *Dion* saith, that so long as *Germanicus* liued, *Tiberius* did nothing of himselfe, he restored all manner of affaires to the Senate, administred iustice by the aduise of them who assisted him, thought good that euery man should giue his aduise, suffered himselfe to bee contradicted, and sometimes taken vp in his opinions.

Hee would not permit himselfe to bee called Lord, but of slaves, and Emperour onely of the souldiers; he flatly refused the title of Father of the Countrey: in speeches and petitions he passed by the name of *Augustus*, and in his dispatches to Kings, and contented himselfe euery where else with the name of

C. Iar

Cæsar and prince of the Senate: his ordinary wishes were, that the heavens might grant him life so long as the commonwealth should have need of his service.

Germanicus living, his birth day was not solemnized; they neuer swore by his fortune, they erected him neither statue nor temple, when he passed thorow the the Citie there was neither Senator, Patrician, Roman Knight, nor any other Lord of quality in his traine: comporting himselfe in all things, as if hee had lived vnder a popular government, so farre as to make funerall orations for particular persons.

If he did commit any violence it was coloured and cloaked with apparances of reason or necessity, or if it were secret; it was so carried that it neuer came to light;

Clement a famous Impostor murdered his master *Agrippa Posthumus* the grand child of *Augustus*, and

because they were of the same yeares and proportion, he caused a report to be raised secretly, as a thing dangerous, after published as pleasing newes, that *Agrippa* was alive: for it is true that the Emperors mother caused him to be slaine immediatly after the death of *Augustus*. Whose memory was so deare and venerable,

that vnder this name he found friends in *Gauls*, succour in *Italy*, and credence in *Rome*, the people crying, and beleeuing that the Gods had reserved him for the good of the Empire. *Tiberius* considering that fame and legerity supported this fable, and that there could not so little credit bee given to it, but that it might preiudice his affaires, made meanes to intrappe him by some who fained themselves to be of his plot: when he was before him he marvelled that hee did so handsomely manage this imposture, and asked him

All this was during the life of *Germanicus*, but after his death all was changed.

Ambition lurks for a long time after to appeare great.

The Emperour *Augustus* to please *Livia* did banish him to the Isle of *Planisia*. *Veritas occulsi primis formidinis crebris sunt. Tac.*

Veritas visa & mora falsa falsitatis & in certis volens.

*Percontanti Ti-
berio quomodo
Agrippa factus
esset, respondisse
seru, quomodo
tu Caesar? Tac.*

*Inanis credulitas
tempore ipso va-
nescit.*

*Neronem & libe-
ri Germanici
iam ingressum
iuuentutem com-
mendauit patri-
bus, non sine risu
audientium. Ta-
citus. Ta.*

*Ut illa secundis
ita hoc aduersis
animis accep-
tum. Tacit..*

*Iason tyrant of
Pheris said that
he would die of
hunger, if he
did faile of the
tyranny, for he
could not line
Idiot.*

*Idiot is a pri-
uate person,*

by what title doe you make your selfe *Agrippa*, the gallant replied, by the same thou makest thy selfe *Cae- sar*? Torments could not wrest from him the names of his accomplices; and although *Tiberius* knew well that he was assisted with money and counsell by men of the greatest ranke, yet he made no inquiry after them; he put him to death without noyse, and there was no more spoken of it.

Tiberius then had cause to reckon the death of *Ger- manicus* amongst the happiest daies of his life, and *Se- ianus* ranked it amongst the greatest stroakes of his fortunes: but the same enmity they bore towards the Father, they continued to his Children, dissembling it neuertheless as much as they could, because it should not appeare but in conuenient time, and couering it with shewes of affection towards them, *Tiberius* intrea- ted the Senate to dispence with the age of *Nero*, to vn- dergoe publike offices, and at fifteene yeares to be made a *Questor*, which office was neuer borne before two and twenty, he was also named high Priest, and at the day of his entry to this office he made largesse of prouisi- ons to the people, which reioyced to see the children of *Germanicus*, in a flourishing youthfulness. For in- crease of ioy he espoused *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, but all was conuerted to disdain, when they saw that the daughter of *Seianus* was affianced to *Drusus* the sonne of *Claudius*, esteeming this great house to bee dishonoured by that alliance, and that it did but giue too much confidence to one who already had gained the greatest power, and who held himselfe but misera- ble if he did not command, not enduring to liue as a priuate person; heauen which would haue no fruit from

from so bad a tree, disposed of all otherwise. *Drusus* sporting himselfe in the towne of *Pompey* threw a peare vp into the ayre, and receiuing it with an open mouth w^{as} choaked, and this young maid bearing her part at the miserable end of her father, made her Epithalamium at the foot of the gibbet, as may be scene in its proper place; their hate was not so intraged against *Seianus*, as there wanted not some who spake, that hee had made this mariage of purpose to dispatch his sonne in law.

This opinion could be built vpon no other foundation, but that this young Prince made shew of great disdaine of this alliance, or too much distaste to be the sonne in law of a man so odious, which had no honour in him, his predecessors had acquired him none, neither could hee leaue his children any; and receiued no praise but from them, whom himselfe dare not commend.

Drusus could not endure this insolencie nor that *Tiberius* should prefer strange counsels and affections before naturall, he ceased not to tell his wife who betrayed him, and his friends who decciued him; that it wanted but alittle that *Seianus* was not *Tiberius* his fellow as well as hi coadiutor, and his children, kinsmen to *Drusus*: that his ambition had some deepe ayme, that it was not like to rest there; for the first hopes of rule are difficult, but when men haue gotten vp meanes to maintaine themselves there are neuer wanting, this he said often and to many, they were his ordinary complaints; an afflicted spirit neuer ceaseth to bemoane it selfe, and euer lay his hand vpon his fore.

*Miror fuisse qui
traderent à Se-
iano necatum.
Suet.*

Vaine is the
praise which
commeth not
from a com-
mendable
man. *Plut.*

*Secreta viri au-
rupia uxore pro-
ducitur. Tac.*

*Primo domi-
nandi spes in
dux, ubi sit de-
pressus affant
Pauli & mini-
stri. Tac.*

According to
mens natures
they receiue
their denomi-
nation, for Di-
on faith, that
Drusus was cal-
led *Castor*, and
that sharpe
pointed swords
were called
Drusians.
*Tribunus pote-
stas summi
iustitij vocaba-
tur. Tac.*

*Tib. Seianum
singularem prin-
cipalium munerum
adiutorem in
omnia habuit.
Vell.*

*Rara est con-
cordia forma atque
pulchritudo. Iure.*

This prince bore an extreame hatred to *Seianus* and he was so ready to strike, that they surnamed him *Castor*, and being no longer able to endure this gallant that play'd the companion with him, had once his hand vp to strike him, and the other also doing the like toward the blow: *Drusus* struck him on the face. *Dion* and *Zonaras* write that *Seianus* struck *Drusus*, but there is no likelyhood he was so bold with the Emperors sonne, which was young, couragious, an associate in the Empire, and held in the power of tribune, the greatest next to souerainty.

A stab is alwayes due for a box on the eare, and is a correlative to it, but those blowes which proceed from the princes hand ought to be receiued, but with patience and humility: he that may kill obligeth one when he doth but hurt him. This so fresh an offence reuiued those which time had almost withered in *Seianus*: the history notwithstanding reports not that hee made any complaint thereof, nor that *Tiberius* did chide his sonne for hauing in such sort abused him, whom he had chosen aboue all others to ayde him, to support the principall affaires of the Empire; for it is but a bad exployt to seeke occasions to prouoke the Emperour against the Prince.

Not daring to complaine thereof, hee resolues to be reuenged, and as reuenge is alwayes ingenious to finde the meanes to satisfie the offended, he found no better wedge to cleaue this knot withall than one made of the wood it self; & to win the wife to vndoe the husband: she was faire, but her beauty agreed not with her honor, she consented to the sollicitations of *Seianus*, vnto whom none refused to yeeld any thing, seeing that

Tiberius

Tiberius gave him all: acquaintance began affection, and that which at the beginning was but love, became adultery, and the adultery witchcraft: a strange blindness that a niece to *Augustus*, the daughter in law to *Tiberius*, the daughter of *Drusus*, the sister of *Germanicus*, the Emperors sonnes wife, and the mother of two princes, capable of attayning the Empire, should stain her honour, dishonour her house to consent to the pleasure of a plebeian: but great beauties will be admired, and powerfull favours are sought after.

Seianus could doe all through his favour, and *Linia* was beloued of euery one for her beauty; to demand wherefore we loue that which is faire, is the question of a blinde man; but this is farre greater blindness to thinke that great men cannot doe whatsoever they desire. Having the body then at his pleasure, he managed the heart as he pleased; the first limbe was the bridge to all the succeeding. When a woman hath lost her chastity she hath no more to lose or to refuse: love had caused the adultery, ambition procured the murder, and from the one they passed on boldly to the other; *Seianus* infused into her spirit a desire to be the wife of an Emperor, she beleeues that he could doe what he said; for *Tiberius* reigned not, but in his person and vnder his will: she harkeneth thereunto, and relisheth it, and the pleasure which she shewes in her attention differs not much from her consent. Their wills which are agreed for love, are vnitied for marriage, and conspire to the same purpose to breake all obstacles, *Seianus* by divorcing of *Apicata* and *Linia* by the death of *Drusus*.

But as great mischiefs cannot be soone hatched, for

Vnto a question made vnto Aristotle, wherefore is it that we loue that which is faire, he answered
Tuphlon to erasma.

Fumina amissa pudicitia alia flagitia non abstinuit. Tac.

The fort which will admit of a parley is halfe rendered.

Magnitudo factoris metum prolationes, diuersa interdum consilia adfert. Tac.

feare doth breed an irresolution therein, astonishment
 dela, yand delay augments the difficulty thereof; they
 were not so much troubled to resolue on the act, as to
 finde the meanes and the manner. The order and se-
 crecy, which ought to be exactly obserued in matters
 of importance were not forgotten in this abominable
 act. They resolued to poyson him, and considering
 that if the poyson were giuen in his meat, some other
 might be overtaken and deceiued; they resolued there-
 fore to giue it in a medicine which he should take, and
 which should worke so slowly, that his death should
 be imputed vnto nature and chance, not vnto violence
 and treachery.

*Eudemus amicus
 ac medicus Li-
 viae specie artis
 frequens secretis.
 Tac.*

*Adulterium etiam
 in principum do-
 mibus, ut Eude-
 mi in Liviae
 Drusi Caesaris.
 Plin.*

*Rumor Seianum
 Ligdi spudonis
 animum stupro
 viciisse. Ta.*

*Jupiter said vn-
 to Prometheus,
 that he deser-
 ued to haue his
 heart and liuer
 to be deuou-
 red.*

Livia employed herein *Eudemus* her physitian,
 who in this quality, and vnder fauour of his professi-
 on, was ordinarily in her Cabinet. *Tacitus* saith, hee
 was her priuate friend, and *Pliny*, her adulterer: *Se-
 ianus* seduceth *Ligdus* an Eunuch, and one of the most
 trusty domestick seruants of *Drusus*; and to vnite his
 heart more strictly to him, hee most vildly abused his
 body; who was both young and faire. These infamous
 persons combine vpon an execrable attempt: *Seianus*
 the assassin conceiues it, *Livia* the adulteresse giues her
 consent, the ruffian *Eudemus* compounds the drugges,
Ligdus the Ganimed presents the same. Foure persons
 who deserued to giue their hearts, which deuised and
 consented vnto so horrible an attempt against the only
 sonne of the Emperor, to be perpetually deuoured by
 sixteene vultures. They all of them perished misera-
 bly, and so may those furies all of them perish which
 vndertake against the liues of their Princes.

Drusus without any mistrust tooke away from *Lig-
 dus*

drus his Eunuchs hands this mortall medicine, and that which hee beleued should serue for his health, hastened his death, but with so little violence, that the languishment and length thereof tooke away all suspicion of poyson; but time which discovers all things drew the truth out of obscurity, and *Apicata* wife to *Seianus*, eight yeares after gave the first hint thereof. We may wonder that a couragious woman wounded in her honour and banished from her husbands company, by an adulteresse should hold her peace for so long time; but this discourse shall not end before wee take away this astonishment.

Ordo sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, formentis Eudemis ac Ligdi passus est. Ta.

The actions of *Seianus* were so notorious, and *Tiberius* for favouring him so hated, that being already infamous through so many famous and notable crimes, it was supposed that he had procured *Drusus* his death by the hand of *Tiberius*, putting him in the head that his sonne (that he might reigne) had resolved his death, and that he should therefore take heed when he should dine at his house not to drinke the first draught should be offered vnto him; that *Tiberius* receiving the cup from the hands of the cup-bearer, had presented it to *Drusus*, and that shame and feare permitting him not to refuse it, he had swallowed the poyson prepared for his father: an imposture without any ground or likelihood at all.

Seianus facinorum omnium repperit habebatur ex omnia caritate in eum Caesaris. Ta.

Druso ignara et iuvenili et bariante poculum cunctis suspicio, tanquam metu et pudore fidemet invogaret mortem, quam patri fructerat.

For it had not bene so easie for *Drusus* to doe this mischief, because his father tooke nothing without assay, and that *Custom* had bene brought thither from the Persian Court since *Augustus* his time. But let them make *Tiberius* as cruell as they will, they can neuer take from him the honor of being a wise Prince, subtil

He that made the assay is called in ancient writings a portione or prae-gustator Xenophon, instructor.

subtill and mistrustfull, and he might be taxed of great indiscretion if he determined to put his sonne to death vpon the bare aduice of *Sejanus*, and before hee were exactly informed of the cause and conspirators of this treason.

*Atrocior semper
fama erga domi-
nantium exi-
tus. Ta.*

This comes but from the malignity of reports which little saue the actions of Princes, all that *Tiberius* hath done, hath beene curiously collected and published, and yet there were neuer any found so transported with hatred or passion to dishonour his memory, who haue taxed him with this Parricide. Wee must not admit without suspicion of all that common fame reports, nor prefer matters vncredible though they be credibly sought for, before that which is true, and are often disguised with false apparances, and vaine wonders to worke astonishment in mens minds.

*Diulgata atq;
incredibilia a vi-
de accepta non
sunt ante habenda
veris neque
in miracula
corruptis. Ta.*

*Simulatio habi-
tum ac voces do-
lentium induit.
Ta.*

*Assegeptor cai
omatos. Dio.
Solus & nullis
voluptatibus a-
vocatus in istam
vigilantiam &
malas curas ex-
erceat. Ta.*

*Negotia pro so-
latis. Ta.*

This death gaue the hope of succession vnto *Germanicus* his children, and although the Senate for *Tiberius* his sake lamented this accident, their teares were but fained, and their griefes without sorrow; for there was no body but was very well content to see that by this death the house of *Germanicus* began to spring againe, nor was *Drusus* beloued for the extreme hatred they bare to his father, for he was very debauched. And as the vices of others displease euery those that are vicious themselves, so his father chid him often for his leud and proud carriage, which made him very quarrellsome and cruell, but the people excused all this, saying, it was better for him to passe the nights in feasting, and the day in the theaters, than to languish with solitary discontent in sad watchings, and bad cogitations.

Tiberius

Tiberius his teares being soone dried, he resorts vn-
to the Senate, to seeke for consolation in his affaires;
and seeing the Senatours sitting below, caused them
to come vp, putting them in minde of the reuerence of
the place, and of the dignity of their Offices, vsing
these words to comfort their spirits for the griefe they
sustained,

The Consuls
did sit on high
in their seates,
and the Sena-
tors below, and
after them the
Praetors and
the Tribunes.

Fathers conscript, you may blame me for comming
hither in so fresh and undisgested sorrow; and I know
well, that such as are in heaviness cannot endure the
light, nor the condolences of their nearest friends;
but as I ascribe not that unto feebleness of courage, so
I desire to witnesse unto you, that I haue not sought for
any greater comfort in my affliction, than the embrace-
ments of the Commonweale.

The custome
of mourning
was not to
bouge out of
their houses
nor to look
vpon the day.
*Vix diu à pleris-
que lugentium
adspicitur. Ta.*

He represented vnto them also, that the extreame
age of the Empreffe tooke from him all hope of further
issue; that his grand-children were very young, that
he had already runne more than halfe the race of his
life, and that he therefore prayed them to call in *Ger-
manicus* his children; the onely remedy and consolati-
on for those evils which now afflicted them. Then
sent they for *Nero* and *Drusus*. The Consuls went
out of the Senate to receiue them, and after they had
said something vnto them to giue them assurance, they
conducted them before the Emperor; who taking
them by the hands said, *My friends, when these chil-
dren lost their father, I sent them vnto my sonne Drusus*
their cosen, and intreated him although he had children
himselfe, to haue as much care of them as of his owne
bloud, to bring them up and conserue them for himselfe
and posterity. But now that Drusus is snatched away

*Germanici libe-
ri unica presen-
tium malorum
levamenta. Ta.*

*Egressi Consules
firmatos alloquia
adolecentibus
deductos, ante
Caesarem statu-
um. Ta.*

from them, I adresse my prayers vnto you, and conuere you before the Gods and our countrey, that in doing that which is my duty and yours, you will take the care and conduct of the Nephewes of Augustus, which are descended from famous and illustrious persons. And then casting his eyes vpon the little ones, he said, My deare Nero and you Drusus, these Lords you see here are your fathers: the condition of your birth is such, that the Commonweale hath interest both in the good and euill which you doe. The Senate made no answer but by their teares, their vowes, and prayers: and this discourse had beene much more for the honour of Tiberius, if he had not added hereunto the very same promises wherewith he had so often deluded them, that he would restore Rome to her former liberty, and leaue the gouernment either to the Consuls or to some others. These last words were so farre from the intention of him that vttered them, and the belief of the hearers, that they tooke from the former all the belief which truth and honesty might haue giuen them.

*Vana & irrita
vero & honesta
fidem adiungunt.
Ta.*

*Addit semper
aliud posterior
adulatio Ta.*

All this was but meere iugling, for this bad Prince thought of nothing more than how vicerly to ruine Germanicus his house, which Drusus his death began againe to bring into credit. They performed his funeralls after the same order that those of Germanicus were, and many other magnificences were added thereunto, for the last flatteries are alwaies the most liberall. Tiberius himselfe made the funerall Oration as Augustus made that of Agrippa his sonne in law.

There was a vaile laid betwixt the dead and him, because he should not see the body, for the high Priest was a sacred thing it was not permitted him to looke vpon

vpou any mounfull obiect; the very Statues of the Gods were couered or transported from those places where any punishment was inflicted; and *Claudius* caused the Statue of *Augustus* to bee taken away from the Theatre of the gladiatours because it should not be present at the murthers, or it was alwayes veiled; eue-ry one wept for him who wept not himselfe at all, for that obiect so sad and feeling had not the power to soften his gratuity, obseruing without any preturbation the people who bewayled his losse, whereof himselfe had no feeling.

So *Philo* re-
porteth that
the high Priest
of the Iewes al-
wayes to keepe
his soule pure,
neuer saw any
mounfull
thing.

*Fletus populi
non flegit vul-
tum.* Sen.

Seianus who stood by him admired his constancy, but made no vse of it, for this did notably shew of what temper this princes heart was; carrying the losse of so deare a person so patiently: did he thinke that this Prince who had so little relentment of the death of his sonne, would care for that of his seruants; hee should haue beene more subtile to haue knowne the humour of his master, who made vse of him as of a cloake or gabardaine in foule weather, to throw it away when it was past. *Seianus* dreamed of nothing but to ruine the house of *Germanicus*, and that accomplished, *Tiberius* will ruine him; for then he will haue no more employment for him, he serues his turne with him now as with a good horse, when the horseman findes him ready hespures forward, and makes him goe where he pleaseth, and in the end kills him.

*Seiano ad latu-
stanti experie-
dum si dedit
quam patienter
posset suos perde-
re.* Sen.

This mighty power of *Seianus* was not solely managed by violence, avarice must haue her part, and made him thinke all which he acquired, not to be lost. *Dion* saith, that he was heire to all them that died without children; this iniust cupiditie wrought the death

*Quicquid non
acquiritur dano-
num est.* Sen.

from them, I adresse my prayers vnto you, and comure you before the Gods and our countrey, that in doing that which is my duty and yours, you will take the care and conduct of the Nephewes of Augustus, which are descended from famous and illustrious persons. And then casting his eyes vpon the little ones, he said, My deare Nero and you Drusus, these Lords you see here are your fathers: the condition of your birth is such, that the Commonweale hath interest both in the good and euill which you doe. The Senate made no answer but by their teares, their vowes, and prayers: and this discourse had beene much more for the honour of *Tiberius*, if he had not added hereunto the very same promises wherewith he had so often deluded them, that he would restore *Rome* to her former liberty, and leaue the gouernment either to the Consuls or to some others. These last words were so farre from the intention of him that vttered them, and the beliefe of the hearers, that they tooke from the former all the beliefe which truth and honesty might haue given them.

*Vana & irrita
vera & honesta
fidem adimunt.
Ta.*

*Addit semper
aliud posterior
adulatio Ta.*

All this was but meere iugling, for this bad Prince thought of nothing more than how vterly to ruine *Germanicus* his house, which *Drusus* his death began againe to bring into credit. They performed his funeralls after the same order that those of *Germanicus* were, and many other magnificences were added thereunto, for the last flatteries are alwaies the most liberall. *Tiberius* himselfe made the funerall Oration as *Augustus* made that of *Agrippa* his sonne in law.

There was a vaile laid betwixt the dead and him, because he should not see the body, for the high Priest was a sacred thing it was not permitted him to looke vpon

upon any mournfull object; the very Statues of the Gods were couered or transported from those places where any punishment was inflicted; and *Claudius* caused the Statue of *Augustus* to bee taken away from the Theatre of the gladiatours because it should not be present at the murthers, or it was alwayes veiled; eue-ry one wept for him who wept not himselfe at all, for that object so sad and feeling had not the power to soften his gratuity, obseruing without any preturbation the people who bewayled his losse, whereof himselfe had no feeling.

So *Philo* re-
porteth that
the high Priest
of the Iewes al-
wayes to keepe
his soule pure,
neuer saw any
mournfull
thing.

*Fletus populo
non flegit vul-
tum.* Sen.

Seianus who stood by him admired his constancy, but made no vse of it, for this did notably shew of what temper this princes heart was; carrying the losse of so deare a person so patiently: did he thinke that this Prince who had so little relentment of the death of his sonne, would care for that of his seruants; hee should haue bene more subtrill to haue knowne the humour of his master, who made vse of him as of a cloake or gabardaine in foule weather, to throw it away when it was past. *Seianus* dreamed of nothing but to ruine the house of *Germanicus*, and that accom-
plished, *Tiberius* will ruine him; for then he will haue no more imployment for him, he serues his turne with him now as with a good horse, when the horseman findes him ready bespures forward, and makes him goe where he pleaseth, and in the end kills him.

*Seiano ad latu-
stanti experie-
dum si dedit
quam patienter
posset suos perde-
re.* Sen.

This mighty power of *Seianus* was not solely ma-
naged by violence, avarice must haue her part, and made him thinke all which he acquired, not to be lost. *Dion* saith, that he was heire to all them that died with-
out children; this inuist cupiditie wrought the death

*Quicquid non
acquirunt, dam-
num est.* Sen.

Ingratiam Quirini consularis praedivitis & orbi. Ta.

of *Lepida* a noble Roman dame; and *Saetonius* having declared how he procured the death of *Lentulus* the Augure, that he might have no heire but him, hee addes the pursuite he made against *Lepida* to be for no other cause, but to gratifie *Quirinus* her husband a very wealthy man and without children.

Exemit Drusum dicenda primo loco sententia, ne lateris assentiendi necessitas ferit. Ta.

The proceeding reported by *Tacitus* is strange. she kept not company with her husband for the space of twenty yeares when he accused her of adultery poysoning and faining her selfe to have a child; *Tiberius* said she consulted with the *Chaldeans* against his person and his house; he would not have *Drusus* deliver his mind first in her judgement, to the end they may freely deliver their opinions and not to compell them to follow him.

Ann Marcellinus Rankes the Theater of Pompey inter decora urbis aterne.

Adstantes effusi in lacrimas sena & detestanda Quirino clamant.

Livia cui semper Emiliorum decus L. Sulla, ac Cn. Pompeius praedivierunt. Ta.

There were playes to bee shewen during the processe, *Lepida* did accompany the chiefeest and most illustrious dames of the Citie, enioying the priviledge of the Romans, who were not imprisoned during their accusation, nor after judgement, if it were not capitall. Enteing the Theatre of *Pompey* she turned her eyes towards his images which were there in diuers places, and implored his succour, from whom she was descended. This was with dolefull lamentation and abundance of teares, which moved the people and principally the women to compassion, and to powre forth reproaches against *Quirinus*, calling him an unworthy man, to deale so cruelly with a woman who having beene promised to *L. Caesar Augustus* his sonne, did him a great deale of honour to marry him, as if they would faine say vnto the good man, that because hee was old, had no children, and of a low degree his wife

wife had cause to make him carry the horns.

The processe being prepared, their opinions inclined to commiseration of a woman of a great house, living twenty yeares asunder from her husband, and the accusations against her were proved but by slaues. But *Rabellius Blandus* concluded with banishment, *Drusus* was of his opinion, and reduced those which proceeded not with that rigor. A Prince should not be the first nor the last to deliuer his opinion, he is to conclude and determine. These words were brauely spoken by *Piso* vnto *Tiberius* in the beginning of his rigor: *Cæsar where will you place your selfe in a lining your censure, if first, I am bound to follow you; if last, peradventure what I thinke you will not; and so I may unwittingly commit a great error.*

*Adsensit Drusus
quamvis alij mi-
tiores. Ta.*

*Quo loco conse-
dit Cæsar, & pri-
mo habito quod
sequar: si post
omnes vereor ne
impudens dissen-
tiam. Ta.*

Dion obserues an other way to come by the inheritance of a rich man. *Sextus Marius* had a daughter yong and faire, *Tiberius* sollicitis her, her father retired her to his countrey house, to cause her to returne, they accused her of incest, the daughter speakes these words vnto her father: *Let vs not giue them the contentment to dispose of you and me at their pleasure, and to bring vs to that passe, that it shall not be permitted vs to die honestly; I was not accustomed to make my prayers vnto any but the Gods, I will not be beholding for my life vnto Scianus with the losse of that which is dearer to me than a thousand lines.* *Marius* ashamed that his courage should haue need of the example of his daughter, killed himselfe first, and she followed him.

*To suruine ho-
nour is to liue
too long.*

This death was very profitable to *Tiberius* and *Seianus*, for they were heires to *Marius*, a man so rich that being offended with a neighbor of his, invited him.

*The same hand
that doth the
injury repairs*

to his house and made him good cheare for two dayes space, the first day he rased downe his house, the second he rebuilt it fairer and larger; the master of the house returning the third day was astonished at the alteration: *Marius* then said vnto him, the one I haue done to reuenge my selfe as your enemy, and the other as your friend for the good I wish you.

*Delatores genus
hominum publi-
co exilio reper-
tum est panis
quidem nun-
quam satis coer-
citum per premia
eliciuntur. Ta.*

*Ut quis desitit
accusator velut
sacro sanctus e-
rat leues ignobi-
les panis afficie-
bantur. Ta.*

*Miseriam ac
sevitie exem-
plum reus pater
accusator filium
Tacit.*

*Multis mundi-
cis adolescenti,
alacris vultu facit.*

There was no safety in *Rome*, but for slanderers a pernicious kinde of people; whom disorder hath brought in credit to spoile and ruine all, who were so supported that not onely their calumny remained unpunished, but recompenced; the more firme and stiffe they were to vphold falsehood and to braue the innocent the more they were gratified, it being no more lawfull to offend them, than things holy and sacred; others whose consciences would not suffer them to bee obstinate against the truth, were vnregarded and punished.

Vibius Seruus Proconsull of the lower *Spaine*, was accused by his sonne to haue conspired against the Emperour; and to haue sent some among the *Gaules* to stirre and mooue the people. He appeared couered with the dust and mire which he gathered in his iourney, for he was newly returned from exile; and though he saw his life in danger, yet he carried a bold courage before his Iudges, and with eyes sparkling with indignation and threats he looked vpon his sonne, who was there braue and well accowtred, stamping with his feet for anger, and ratling of his irons and chaines; for hee was conducted by the souldiers that had him in guard, he lifted vp his hand towards heauen, and prayed the Gods to send him back into the place from whence

he

he came, and punish the ingratitude and impietie of
his sonne. Nature so outrageously offended, permitted
him these imprecations, and would not suffer him to
shew himselfe a father towards this wretch, who had
reuolted from his dutie. A father ought to content
himselfe with a slight punishment, but this disloyalty
was so strange that it wrested from his heart this prayer
vnto the Gods for his chastizement, euery where that
we finde monsters we stifle them, not asking from
whence they come, we nourish the birds which come
from Forrests, but wee kill the scorpions which are
bred in our houses.

This his so settled countenance imprinted in the
minde of the iudges an opinion of the innocency of
the father, and made them deforme the malice of the
sonne; who affrighted with the remorse of conscience,
the noise of the people which threatened him with im-
prisonment, the hurling of stones, and the punishment
of Parracides, fled to *Ravenna*, from whence *Tiberius*
made him to returne, constraining him to pursue his
accusation, for he would in any wise be rid of *Sernus*,
keeping still in minde the hatred he bore him for a let-
ter which he had written vnto him eight yeares be-
fore, in more arrogant tearmes then by proud eares
and tender to be offended could be well brooked. The
Senators gaue their opinions hereupon, *Gallus Asinius*
was of opinion that hee should bee banished into the
Isles of *Gaire* or *Donsa*, which was not found fitting
because there was no water neither in the one nor the
other, and that it was reasonable they should giue
meanes to liue, vnto such as they had giuen life vnto.

O cruell pittie! hee desired that the commodities
of

Whatsoever
the sonne
doth, the fa-
ther should
not strip him-
selfe of the
office of a fa-
ther, to put on
that of a iudge.
*Pro peccato ma-
gis punitur
supplicij satis
patri.*

*In filio ortus
vinculus pascitis
& dominatus
scorpiones acci-
dit. Petr.*

*Exequi accusa-
tione adigitur.
Ta.*

*Haud tutum
contumaciam
loqui apud aures
superbas & of-
fensionis primo-
res. Ta.*

*Dandi vitam
cui vita concedi-
tur. Ta.*

of life should serue for the lengthning out and entertainment of the miseries of paine.

It was lawfull for the most wicked to assault and wrong the honestest men, to speake inuiously of them and to offer them affronts; nor durst masters reprehend their seruants or correct them. There was no excessse but might be excused for such as could couer it with the image of *Cesar*. The same franchise which gaue assurance to the criminall, gaue assurance also, and occasion to commit the crime. The great respect which men bore vnto *Tiberius* was in other places then at *Rome*, where his Statues were as venerable, as these of *Iupiter Olympus*, in such sort as the master was condemned of impietie because he hath struck his seruant, carrying about him a peece of mony whereon the image of *Cesar* was ingraued.

Religion hath
giuen vnto the
Temple of the
Gods freedom
and flattery to
the Statues of
Princes, this
custome was
put in practise
in *Rome* since
Iulius Cæsars
time.
Capituli circa
Augusti simulacrum
Seruum
cacidisse. Suet.

The place
were *Theſeus*
curled the *A-*
thenians in
the bourge of
Gargetus was
called *Arateri-*
an place of
malection.

Plut.

Principes instar
deorum sunt sed
necququam
diuinitus sup-
plicem preces
audiant. Ta-

Amia Rufilla was condemned of falshood by the Senate at the pursuit of *Cestius*. Enraged herewith she stayed for him at the entry of the Pallace, neare vnto *Tiberius* his Statue, from whence as from a place of curling, she assaulted him with all manner of raylings and bitter speeches, which are the weapons of feeble spirits. *Cestius* durst not demand reparation because she had wronged him, vnder the fauour and neere vnto the image of *Tiberius*, he made complaint hereof, and spake in the open Senate these memorable words: *Princes hold the places of Gods, but the Gods hearken ouely to the iust prayers of their suppliants, there is none that will runne to the Capitall nor vnto the other Temples of the Citie, as to a place of refuge, there to commit any crime. But the lawes are now abolished and overthrowne from the very foundation; seeing that euen in*

the

the publique places, and at the very entry of the Pallace we are constrained to beare injuries, and to beare threatenings without any hope at all to be righted, for the respect which is had unto the Emperours Statue.

If the History should haue mentioned nothing also but this, to represent vnto vs the estate of the miserable reigne of *Tiberius*, it would haue bene enough to discouer vnto vs the violence and disorder thereof; wretched was then the condition of a Roman citizen, there was danger either to speake, or to behold his Peere; thoughts onely were free from tribute and danger, provided that their countenance did not make any shew either of ioy for *Agrippina*, or of discontent against *Seianus*. The absolute power he had ouer the goods of the Romans, made some say that it was a good thing to dwell at *Rome*, and to haue their estate lying out of the bounds of the Empire.

Vacii a rich man, and who had beene Pretor, withdrew himselfe to his country house, finding no other defence against the violence of the time, than a solitary life. It was a hard thing in those times for men to resolve themselves, for they beleaved that he who did it of his owne instigation, did either differ so much from nature, that either he did set himselfe above her, with the Gods; or vnder her with the beasts: as often as the friendship of *Asinius Gallus*, *Agrippinae* kinsman or the hatred of *Senatus* had ruined some one, the people of those times would cry out, O *Vacii* there is none but thee that can tell how to live.

The solitary life was the most assured, the civil more perilous, and the country more pleasing, and indeed she is the mistress of spring, of diligence, of in-

*Attila uictus
nificansque ad-
trion salutem
publicam subi-
erunt. Val.
Gaudebat tellus
vomere laureas.
Plin.*

stice and simplicity; it hath not been accompanied with honour, or yielded such content as in former times, when great Captaines went from their triumphs to the plough, from their tillage to armes, and from their farmes to the Senate; the ground tooke delight in those dayes to yeld fruit in abundance, and to acknowledge the labour of those victorious hands which manured it with a coulter crowned with lawrell.

*It is not safe to
commit so ma-
ny and so
great offices
into the for-
tune of one a-
lone.*

Sejanus this torrent of pride and insolence overflows; there is none now that stayes it, all that might keepe it in is cast downe. *Tiberius* is blamed to submit the fortune of the Empire to the discretion of one man alone, and his will to the honour of his groome.

*Wicked inter-
prises worke
the ruine of
the vnder-
takers.*

Ambition is often gagle eyed when she hath need of a cleare sight and is astray when shee thinkes to goe right: *Sejanus* is lost by her, his designs fall out otherwise then he expected, he beleued *Germanicus* being dead that *Drusus* was the onely block that lay in his way, he takes him away by poyson, and now behold the succession remains without any doubt to the children of *Germanicus*, to assure his tyranny he must destroy them, he undertooke it the more boldly because his former wickednesse hath had happy successe, and that the father was careless to revenge the death of his sonne.

*Perec fecerunt
quia prima pro-
uenerunt Ta.*

Hee imprints in him a beleefe that his enemies would make their profit of this losse, that *Agrippina* is resolu'd to raigne; there needed no art to perswade him, he sees the succession apparent, and this woman ready to bite at the apple, he is resolu'd to cut off the mother and the yong ones; *Sejanus* finds himselfe much perplexed, for to corrupt *Agrippina* as he did

*Non dubio
maiori libera-
tione statu-
Ta.*

Livia

But there was no possibility, shew of an invincible and undaunted chastity, it was impossible to poison them all three at once, and surely very difficult, so great was the fidelity and vigilancy of their servants, besides they could not deale with this Princesse or with other women, all the rowne is for her. The most bold and shameless slander dares not take hold of her, she marched upright betwene the jealousy of *Tiberius*, and the ambition of *Sextus*; who found no nearer way to ruine her then to animate the Emperour against her, by causing him to apprehend both her courage and her hopes, he lost no time in this, and encountered a little after with a fit occasion to produce this bad designe. They did vie to sacrifice in the beginning of the yeare, an Oxe with golden hornes to *Jupiter*, for the welfare of the Prince, which was the welfare of the commonwealth. The high Priests, and by their example the rest, recommended vnto the same Gods both *Nero* and *Drusus*, not so much for the loue of them as to flatter *Tiberius*, and to make shew they desired that the Empire should continue in his house: mens manners were then so depraved, that it was no more dangerous to flatter too much, then not to flatter at all.

Tiberius was vexed to see those youths goe cheek by ioule with his age, and asked the high Priests, if they had done this by the entreaties or threats of *Agrippina*; and they answering no, he checked them, but gently, for they were for the most part either of kin to *Agrippina*, or the chiefe of the Cite. He went of purpose to the Senate about this businesse, and made vnto them a cunning speech there, to shew vnto them,

that from thence forwards the feeble and inconstant spirits of young folkes were not to be spurred on vnto pride by those honours which were giuen them before their time.

Seianus made morcadoe with this then *Tiberius*, saying that all was going to wrack; seing they made no difference betweene the Prince and his kinsmen, that the Citie of *Rome* was deuided as in the ciuill warres when she had three Lords, *Caesar*, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*; that the authority of the Emperor was the weakest, that *Aerippinae* party was already formed, and that vnlesse resistance were made, the number would grow greater, that there was no better remedy for the discord which began to gather head and grow vp, than by a sudden cutting off of one or two of them.

He threatened buttwo, and meant to strike many, but he beleeued that those *Silius* and *Sabinus* would bethrowne from that height, that the rest should apprehend their fall; their generous affection towards the house of *Germanicus*, did not degenerate from the nature of true friendship, although to them it was not onely barren, but vnfürunate; *Parrus* a Consul villanously accommodating his conscience and honour to the passion of *Seianus* accused *C. Silius*, and *Sofia* his wife. *T. Sabinus* was referred for another time; and although they represented this pursuit to be violent, and that *Parrus* should expect vntill he were out of his Consulship, yet they made their procelle of a crime of maiestie, although they were accused but to haue conuerred the publique treasure of the commonwealth to their owne vse, and that there was no man which demanded restitution: but *Tiberius* was so subtrill, that he

Palla tribus do-
minis communis
Roma, Lucan

Nullum aliud
gliscentes discor-
die remedium
quam unus alter-
rum maxime
prompti subuer-
gatur. Ta.

Aniclus Co-
mentis pernic-
iastrigue. Ta.
Turpe aliq. gra-
disferi per dele-
um proprium
Ta.

he gave the lightest faults the names of most odious crimes. *Silius* seeing that, made no defence, and if he did speake, it was but to declare that the pursuite was too puissant: and foreseeing that there was no possibility to scape, his courage advised him to prevent an inevitable death by a voluntary. *Silius* was banished.

His imprudency and vanity did assist his ruine, he ceased not to vaunt that *Tiberius* was obliged to him for the Empire, and that if the Legion which he commanded in *Almaine* were revolted as the rest, hee could not hold it any long time, this reproach did pricke to the quicke the minde of *Tiberius*, for he did overthrow all his fortunes, giving him no share in the prosperity of affaires, and made it knowne it was not in his power to acquit himselfe of this obligation. When the service is so great that it cannot be acknowledged, Princes accompt it an offence, hate holds the place of recompence and affronts of thanks.

It is more safe to be obliged to the Master, then to oblige him and service that cannot be recompenced makes the servant importunate.

Amongst all this *Sejanus* sees himselfe so cloigned from his hopes that he redoubles his course to arrive vnto them, and by an augmented imprudence discovers them to *Tiberius*; it is true that he was compelled by the ordinary exclamations of *Livia*, who cealeth not to summon him with his promise of legitimating their loves, and change the name of Mistresse into that of wife, *Sejanus* gives her words for deeds, she is angry, he appeaseth her, she weepes, he flatters her; and although reason did perswade her as Nurses doe their children, Weepe not, you shall have it, yet her patience is quite

*Proprium Tiberii
scilicet scelera super
experta praefata
verbo obsequere.*
Ta.

*Emendatione
voluntaria
sui praevertitur.*
Tac.

*Clytus lost him-
selfe to have
said that Alex-
ander held his
life of the Ma-
cedonians.*
Plut.

*Beneficia eo us-
que lata sunt
donec violentia
etiam pugnare
non possent
sed proinde
placuit reddere.*
Tac.

*Reason should
say vnto Chel-
ler that which
the Nurse saith
to her Child,
Weepe not, and
you shall have
it.*
Plut.

*Sermones nimis
fortune secus
et muliere co-
pidine iocundus
Ta.*

spent, his heart is like a mine which bursts out with so much the more ruine and noise by how much the more it is stopt vp and constrained, he suffers himselfe to be carryed away with the ambition of this woman, who hoped to espouse with her husband the title of *Augustus*, and to giue her contentment discovers his designe to the Emperour; beseeching him to agree to this marriage: he presents vnto him his request, and notwithstanding the high fauour he was in, hee brake not the order of treating with the Prince, no other wise but by writing.

*Sermones libelle
habuit in plus
minu / 6. loquutur
Ta.*

Cesar brought in this custome, to the end hee may haue time to consider of that which was demanded; and what answer to returne, and to make the expedition of his affaires more commodious: for the affluence was so great, the towne of such extent, that it was impossible immediately to satisfie all. *Augustus* did write, all his answers, because he may not speake more or lesse then that he thought off.

*Ogi timide re-
get arguit doct.*

blissful collect

*Speret vna
sua primam ad
principium huius
quidem ad deos.
Ta.*

The contents of his request being so hardy, he did not tremble in presenting it; a timorous suppliant is more boldly denied. To intreate remissly or carelessly, is to doubt either of the merite of the request, or of the power of him whom we request; he frames a complaint of gratitude and remembrance, for an expert courtier should neuer begin with his demand and addes an impious flattery, saying that he gave this order of speaking of his affaires sooner to his mistresse then to the Gods. It was in these termes: *The good which Augustus wished me, and that which you have done me, Cesar in many occasions oblige me not to send forth my prayers and vows sooner to the cares of the Gods then*

show to you. It is to tell you that although I did never affect this glittering showe of honours, and that all my ambition was but to watch and labour as a simple soldier for your safety and prosperity. I have notwithstanding this contentment which I prize above all others; that I was already deemed worthy of the alliance of Cæsars by the marriage of my daughter with the son of Claudius: it is the foundation of my hope, and because I have heard say, that Augustus proposing to give a husband unto his daughter, had a thought to have made election of a Romane Knight; my supplication unto you is, that if you seeke for a husband for Livia the widow of your sonne, you may be pleased to remember him whom you have alwayes loved, and who in that has no other designe than the glory of your alliance, without laying aside the offices which with you have honoured me, it sufficeth me that my house may have a proppie against the enmitie of Agrippina, and that which I doe is but for the love of my children, for mine own parts I make no reckoning of my life any longer than I may wholly imploy it in the service of such a Prince.

Tiberius having praised the zeale of Sejanus and in few words put him in minde of the favour hee had extended towards him, added that the businesse would crabe some time to give a deliberate answer, and spake in this manner, The interpreters of common men do ordinarily give an answer, but the condition of princes is farre otherwise; for they ought to reserve the principall of their actions and diligence unto reputation and honour, wherefore I will not make answer unto this request so soone as I might do it: Livia may of her self resolve whether she were best to marry againe, or continue still in my house

Qui ex nobis et labore et munis militum prorecolimus principis munus haud ingratum honorum felorem precatur. Ta.

Augustus in collocanda filia nonnihil de Romanis equitibus considerat. Ta.

Non vixit qui vitam cum principis explicat.

ol p. 12. v. 11

bat. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Y. 12. v. 11

Maria & Drusus
propria cons
ta. Ta.

sonne Drusus his house, she hath more Councillors then my selfe, her grand-mother, and mother, and for my selfe, I will freely give thee mine aduice concerning the rest, first touching the malice of Agrippina, without all doubt this will the more ardently inflame it, when shee shall see the marriage of Livia deuide the hearts of the Cæsars into diuerse parties. Hence wee shall see and heare the noise and strife of womens jealousies, and through their discord my Nephewes shall enter into quarrelling and what a case were it if this alliance should procure a broile.

Quid stitenda
certamen.

What will it be
if they accuse
you.

Vix cum equito
Romano senescit
quis nupit Ca-
sari. Ta.

There is not a
my desire so
well ordered
but will em-
brace occasi-
on.

Excepit equitum
salsignum Scia-
rum. Ta.

Augusti animus
in omni curar
distrahitur. Ta.

Thou deceivest thy selfe Seianus if thou thinkest to be able to remaine still in the same estate, or that Livia is of such a humour as to wax old with a Romane Knight, hauing married Cæsar and after him Drusus, and though I should consent therunto, thinkest thou that such as haue seene her brother, her father, and our grand-fathers possessed of the soueraigne dignities, would endure that I should suffer it. Thou resoluest to liue in the state in which thou art, but the Magistrates and the chiefe of the State, who against their will come to visit thee, and demand this aduice in all things, know that thou art not to stay there, that thou hast raised thy selfe aboue the quality of a Knight, and that I haue outstripped the teames of the affection my father bore thee: they publicquely dissembled this, but in priuate they blame my affection, for the enuy they beare thee. Thou sayest that Augustus had purposed to giue his daughter to a Romane Knight, and verily it is a mar-ueile, hauing a spirit so wrathfull over all, and hauing foreseene to what a degree of power he might mount him, whom he should by this alliance raise so high a- boue

bove all others : he spake of *Caius Præuleius*, and of some others, which were of a notable tranquillitie of spirit, and which no way medled with any affaires of the commonwealth. And if we be astonilhed at this his resolution, how much more ought we so to be for marrying his daughter to *Agrippa*. *Infans via tranquillitas nullis R. P. negotijs perturbata. Ta.*

This is that which my friendship will not let mee keepe from thee, and therefore I doe assure you, that I will neuer crosse these designs, nor those of *Livia*. I wil not now tell thee what I am resolved to doe, before the yeere come about, and with what alliance I purpose to ioine thee vnto me ; I will onely tell thee this, that there is nothing so eminent whereunto thy vertue and the alliance thou bearest vnto me, may not raise this ; & when any occasion of speaking hereof, either to the Senate or people shall present it selfe I will not be silent. *Nihil tam excelsum quod non meretur vira. Ta.*

But *Seneca* had greater assurance in the thoughts of *Tiberius* than in his words, his minde was franticke with this ambition, he was no more capable of reason, he had much adoe to come thus farre ; there is no way to passe further, the ascent was very difficult, slippery and stubborne, and being come to the height he shall finde but shivering, and will behold round about him but a fearefull downe-fall. In the commerce of loue and ambition, reason is a coyne which passeth not for current.

Tiberius vnwilling he should perish, shewed him how he did but runne headlong vnto his destruction, and did rectifie him : whosoever shewes vs the place where we first began to faile, obligeth no lesse then he who shewes vs which way we should go, he giues him to vnderstand that this marriage will be an originall of perpetuall discord in the house of the *Cæsars*, and that the very same things which serue as a ciment amongst *Vincula charitatis apud concordes, sunt incitamenta irarum apud infensos. Ta.*

L

persons

persons which are at agreement, doe forme hatred in the mindes of such as are already at iarre.

But *Seianus* was not so much in paine about the successe of his mariage, as with the suspitions which began to engender in the fantasie of *Tiberius* against that great and powerfull authoritie which hee had vsurped in all affaires, which in short time causeth confidence to degenerate into feare, affection into ieaousie, and liberty into necessitie.

Præcipuum incidium magni principis magni liberti. Ta.

In cuiusque animo virtus sit, ei plurimum tribuendum. Vell.

To haue two great subiects is no good signe of the Princes owne greatnesse, and yet notwithstanding it is the true property of great Princes to raise merit and recompence seruices, for wheresoeuer vertue is found, it will be honoured; it considers more the person then the country, industry more then birth; of all times *Rome* hath scene new men raised to great honours; *T. Cornucanus* High Priest, *Sp. Carvius* Consul, *Ma. Cato* Censor, *Municus Thrimphius* and *Marcus* six times Consul.

Consecratus est vnicus sentiensq; Euthymius nihilque adeo mirum aliud quam hoc placuisse dijs. Plin.

It is madnesse for a man to oppose himselfe against the will of the Prince, when he saith I will haue it, he renders reason enough of his actions; men wondred to see *Euthymius* to be placed amongst the number of the Gods before his death, and that in his life time he was sacrificed vnto, but they were satisfied with this only reason, *Iupiter* would haue it so.

Interest rei publicæ quod usque necessarium, & dignitate cinnere utilitatemque auctoritate mima. Vell.

To take from the Prince the power to raise the meane conditioned, and abasing the great ones, this is to snatch the Scepter out of his hand, to make his power but a shadow, and to quench the lively light of maiestie. The State hath intrest, that liberality should acknowledge merit, and fauour should sustaine seruices,

uices,

nices, the condition of a Prince should be very hard, if amongst so great a number of seruants he might not chosesome one worthy of a more entire confidence, according the happinesse of the election, or the force of the merit.

*Dabitur an fato
principum incli-
natio in hoc, of-
fensio millos, an
sit aliquid in me-
stris consilijs. Ta.*

It is no matter if this fauour procure the ieaousie of great ones, the enuy of equals, or the hatred of inferi-
ors, so it trouble not the order of affaires, that particu-
lar intrest swallow not vp the publique; for when
this shall come to passe, and that to enrich a few of
these fauourites the State is impouerished and all put
in disorder, the Prince which so indiscretly distributeth
his fauour, is dispised as hauing neither iudgement,
nor iustice in his elections, and the fauourite findes by
experience that there is no greater punishment than
the publique hatred.

*Ut paucis illu-
strentur mundus
eueritus unius
honor orbis exci-
dium est. Sal.*

*At ultum grauius
supplicium odio
publico. Sen.*

If it please the Prince he may cast him downe as low
as he hath exalted him, and there needs but a blast to
lay flat such powers as are not sustained by their owne
forces; *Tiberius* was somewhat startled at this great
power of *Seianus*: but the good will which all the
people beare to the house of *Germanicus* doth more af-
flict him, and *Seianus* who sees his imagination per-
plexed therewithall represents the perill vnto him to
be more then it is, and reuiues in the heart of the Em-
presse the ancient rancor she bore against *Agrippina*,
this remembrance drives her into choler, and this an-
ger that is the nerue which giues the suddainest moti-
on vnto the soule, makes her thinke, she shall neuer be
any thing so long as her enemy is something.

*Fluxa fama po-
tentia non suis
viribus nixa.
Ta.*

*Choler is or-
dained as com-
panion to rea-
son, and Basile
calls it the
nerue of the
soule.*

To make this apprehension penetrat the deeper in-
to her minde, he employes *Mutilia Prisca* her confi-

*Regibus aquae
ne dum infirmis
infusa sunt. Ta.*

*Facilis femina-
rum credulitas
ad gaudium. Ta.*

*Tiberij seculo
magna pietas
fuit nihil impie
facere. Sen.*

*Domitius Afer
quoque crimine
clarescere propo-
nit. Ta.*

dent, and to gaine her he practizeth with *Inl. Postbun-*
mar, who made loue vnto her; the Emperesse was pre-
sently moued with *Agrippinaes* hopes, and her feare
not onely of taking place beneath her, but of being e-
qualled with her, furnished her with deuices enough to
make her yet more odious vnto *Tiberius* then she was
before. Moreouer *Seianus* had some suborned persons
that entertained *Agrippina* with vanities and infused
into her minde the sweet hopes of Government, and as
pleasing things doe more easily enter into womens be-
leife, she sought for accusations the more freely to ad-
minister iealousie vnto *Tiberius* and contentment to
the people.

But as that age was so corrupted, that it was then a
vertue to doe no euill, and pietie not to be impious. *Ti-*
berius resolved to doe no good to *Agrippina*, feared
notwithstanding to be blamed for impietie and ingra-
titude, if he did her any ill, whereupon his indignation
not daring to ayme directly at her, he first set vpon
her friends and kindred: *Claudia Pulchra* her cosen,
was accused of adultery with *Fannus*, and of charms,
and poyson against *Tiberius*.

Domitius Afer who at any price would make his
fortune, was the accuser, he was one of that number
which *Seianus* entertained, and serued him as a petty
instrument to stirre and moue great werkes withall:
vpon this accusation *Agrippina* inflamed with choler,
as well for the iniury as for the perill of her cosen,
came to see *Tiberius*, and finding him offering a sacri-
fice vnto her father, she said,

You should not thus imolate your sacrifices. no Au-
gustus, and persecute his posterity, the spirit of that great
Prince

Prince is not in his dumbe statues, but his true image
 which is borne of his celestiall blood, understands well
 the difference by the bad vsage which is offered her, be-
 ing reduced to the miserable state of one accused; there
 is nothing intended to Pulchra, it is to me: I am sole
 cause of her ruine, she hath committed no other offence,
 but that shee made no shew of affection but to the service
 of Agrippina, and that imprudently; for shee should
 call to minde that Sofia Galla was banished for that
 cause.

This discourse did so incense Tiberius, that hauing
 lost his dissimulation, he brought from the bottome of
 his heart a bitter speech, and strange to his humour
 which was neuer accustomed to be so forward; for after
 telling her that she should moderate her passion, he ad-
 ded a Greeke verse, importing thus much,

*Thou belieuest daughter, that thou hast wrong done
 thee, if thou command not.*

If Agrippina did vnderstand the Greeke tongue this
 speech passed not without a reply, and it is certaine
 that Princes of her ranke were learned; Agrippina
 her daughter composed a history, Augustus commen-
 ded the wit of this Agrippina, who remained for a suf-
 ficient time in Athens, and in other Cities of Greece
 with her husband Germanicus, to vnderstand some
 words.

And it is without doubt that this speech pricked to
 the quick her ambition, and giuing fire to her choler,
 she could not reframe from speaking these words im-
 mediately or in retiring, Behold we are well seeing the
 hopes of a woman bring iealousie to Tiberius, and feare
 to Seianus; if I haue any ambition it is not for my selfe;

*Mihl nunquam
persuadebunt ut
meos amari à
me unius unquã
putem. Plin.
Agrippina sem-
per Atrox. Tac.
Pervicax ire.
Tac.
Equi impati-
ent. Tac.*

my sexe wrongs my courage. If I have a desire to raige,
it is but in my Children? where doe they finde that I
should loue them lesse then I doe? I haue part in that
which the beaues reserve for them, and I will that they
know, that if I affected not their greatnesse, I should not
be a mother. Let him call me fierce, proud, impatient, as
much as he will, I cannot be otherwise against this hare-
brained man, whom he names his companion, and would
be so with my children, who is allied to the Claudians,
placeth his Statues amongst them of the Cæsars, pul-
s downe those of Pompey, who carries his authority aboue
that of the Senate, who caused my Husbands death, perse-
cutes my kindred and friends; yes, I am angry that I
doe not command, for I would be ashamed to command
so vniustly and wickedly.

Weaknesse and
choller doe not
well agree to-
gether.

*Prosperior a-
fro eloquentia
quam morum
fama. Tac.*

But what doe menaces auaille where power is wan-
ting, there is nothing so vnfit as to be weake and yet
cholericke. That of *Agrippina* did her no good, and
aduanced the condemnation of *Furnius* and *Pulchra*.
Domitius then, who shewed himselfe so eloquent in
their accusation, is praised by *Tiberius*, and placed in
the ranke of the chiefeest Orators, but with more esti-
mation of knowledge than to speake well then do well,
extream old age did much lessen the reputation of his
eloquence, for hauing his spirit weary and spent, hee
could not refraine speaking.

Relegation
was milder
then exile.
*Namque relega-
tus tum exul
dicit. Ouid.*

It is doubted whether these two Lawyers were con-
demned according to the law of *Iulia*, ordained by
Augustus against adultery, for that was too gentle to
satisfie the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and animosity of *Seia-
nus*, and more shamefully then seuer, onely relegating
the culpable out of Rome.

The

The number moderated the rigour of the paine, for if it had beene capitall, it would haue made whole families desolate. *Seneca* saith, that this excesse was so common in his time, that shamefastnesse was a signe of deformity, to be wise, it behoued not to be faire; there was not a woman so miserable and beggarly, that could be contented with a couple of seruants, who gaue not each one his turne, and vnto whom the longest day seemed not too short. It was ordained that she who had to her Father or Grandfather, or to her Husband a Roman Knight, would not professe her selfe a whore. *Vistilia* issued from a Family, amongst whom there had beene Preters, declared before the Edils, that she would not let her youth passe away in barrennesse, nor her beauty vknowne: In a word, that she was a Courtizan; this was all the punishment which custome ordained for these disorders, to the end that the shamefull declaration of so miserable and infamous a life might be instead of a paine or penalty. *Tiberius* confined her to the Isle of *Seriphos*. We must beleene that *Seianus* made him not any whit the more element towards *Agrippina's* Kinswoman his enemy, for outstripping the seuerity of his Predecessours, he had already caused *Aquila* to banishment, although the *Consul* had put her but to the penalty of the law of *Iulia*.

Agrippina was so incensed to see her kinswoman so vnworthily handled, that shee fell sick thereupon; and after many complementall good wishes of her recovery, her griefe soone brought sighes into the mouth and teares to the eyes of the sick person, and hauing deplored her misery and the ruine of her house, shee besought

Argumentum est deformitatis pudicitia: nunquam inuenies tam miseram tam sordidam ut illi satis sit unum adulterorum par nisi singulis diuidat bonas, & non sufficit dies omnibus. Sen.

Satis penarum aduersum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitij. Tac.

Aquileiam quam Consul legem Iulia damnasset exilio peruenit. Tac.

*Non aliud probis
quam ex matris
monio solatium.
Ta.*

besought the Emperor, that to assuage the griefe of her
louelinesse, he would be pleased to permit her to mar-
ry, her youth not being able to continue in that solita-
rinesse; there being left no contentment for honest
women of such yeares, but mariage; and that it would
please him hartily to embrace the protection of *Ger-
manicus* his widow and children.

The prayer you make (my father) is not that I
should be weary of my solitude, that there may bee
some thing which would kindle againe my affection;
the first is the ashes of *Germanicus*, and will neuer bee
reuiued, there is nothing which may content me, there
remaines no ouerplus for me; if the Gods had as yet
conferred any grace upon me, they must giue mee a
new heart to receiue it, for they haue neuer sent mine
owne but bitterness; it can neither containe nor beare
delight, I haue need of someone which may comfort
not my courage, but may entertaine my patience.

*The reason of
State is a
thwarting of
ordinary rea-
son, hauing
respect to a
reason or be-
nefit more uni-
uersall.*

*A deliberate
answere disco-
uers neither
offence nor
feare. Ne of-
fensio aut matris
prolatio. Ta.
Prima semper
in armis tela ma-
litiarum sunt &
quod non possu-
mus imbecilli
optamus irati
saluati.*

Reason of State which goes aboue all reasons of or-
dinary lawes could not consent to this demand, for be-
ing a woman equally beloued for her chastitie and
fruitfulness, she would replenish a house with Grand-
children of *Augustus*, who one day would sue for the
succession of the Empire.

Tiberius considering the preiudice the State might
sustaine by this demand, made her no answeare at all,
that he might neither giue notice of the offence hee
tooke, or of his feare, and went coldly away without
speaking a word; this silence and coldnesse inflamed
Agrippina the more, and as the first arrowes of re-
uenge are bitter words, and what we cannot doe for
lack of power, we wish it out of the heat of choler, so she
powred

powred forth all she had in her heart ; *Seianus* who could take his time considereth all this, and by an officious kind of disloyalty sends word to this Princess that the smothering flames of the designs, which *Tiberius* had referued in his minde against her ; were vpon the point to euaporate and breake forth, that he was resolu'd to payson her, and that she should take heed of taking any thing at his hand, nor any meat :

Agrippina who in discretion should haue made no shew of this aduice, for the perill there is to make knowne that we are acquainted with Princes intents, presently drew her heart into her brow, and being one time at Table with *Tiberius* she grew obstinate both in silence and abstinence ; when he saw that shee had not tasted of an Apple that he had giuen her with his owne hand, but had giuen it to some that waited at the Table, he turned himselfe towards his mother and rounding her in the care, said, *It is no maruile if I haue beene somewhat seuerer heretofore towards this woman, seeing she takes me for an impoysoner.* Where distrust once begins, there friendship ends ; from this instant their mindes became vnreconcilable, and the rumour was spread ouer *Rome*, that *Tiberius* would put *Agrippina* to death, either openly or in secret.

Hereupon *Tiberius* vndertakes a voyage to *Naples*, which designe had beene often deliberated, resolu'd, delayed and broken off. He said it was to dedicate a temple to *Iupiter* at *Capua*, and an other to *Augustus* at *Nola* where he dyed ; but he had no other intention then to absent himselfe from the Cite. It is certaine that *Seianus* knowing his humour counsell'd this his retreat to haue the meanes to goe to him as hee

M

listed,

lived, but because he lived there five years after his death I suppose that he chose out this place to cover the dissoluteness of his life.

Decrepit old age makes the Prince to be despised, *Dion* speaks it of *Tib.* and *Nerva.* *Dia togas capto pro nomine non.* *Tib.* was the will Emperour which let his beard grow to cover the flaws over his face.

Some there are that think also that it was to cover & hide his old age, which made him contemptible, and to avoide the beholding of his body which was falling in peeces, and the spirit willing to come forth as from a building, whose walls were crackt, and the beames rotten, this bad complexion of his made him ashamed, he was tall of stature, leane and slender, his shoulders crooked and sticking out, his head bare and bald, his face full of pimples and *Fistulas*, knots and belwaies disfigured with plasters, nor did the haire of his beard once whie cover this deformity, for the Emperours were not any, his nature was best pleased with solitariness, and had bene accustomed therunto at *Rhodes*, where he eschued much company to cover his Riots, and those of his wife.

Sovereigne authority can admit no competition.

Adrian Domestique *Tiberius* *Tiberius*.

But one of the most apparrant reasons was his impatience being not able to endure any longer neare his Mother, who would doe all, nor could he wrest the authority out of her hands, for hee received the Empire by them, and upon every occasion she would reproach him, that he reigned not but by her meanes, & that he was no lesse beholding to her for his fortune then for his birth. It was true, for *Linia* perceiving that *Augustus* would have declared *Germanicus* his successor upon the belief he had, that his election would be gracefull to the people, who loved and extolled him, she prevailed so much by her prayers and entreaties, that *Tiberius* was in the end assayed to attaine to the Empire after *Augustus* and *Germanicus* was *Tiberius*.

Linia

Scipio did put him in minde hereof; this remembrance seemed a reproch, this reproch a summoning him to an acknowledgement, and the failing therein ingratitude.

He performed this Voyage then to be far from his Mother, and was therein accompanied but with a small traine, to wit, with one Senator named *Cicero Nerva*, learned in the Lawes, with *Sejanus*, and with one Knight called *Curtius Atticus*, whom *Sejanus* ruined a little after, the residue were learned men, and most of them Græcians, for he passed his time in discoursing with them, and delighted in the beauty and riches of that language the which he spake distinctly, readily, & eloquently: this he could not doe without nature, art, & grace: many speake it, but few know how to speake it well, and to do so, their discourse must alwaies be to the purpose, and the current thereof without confusion.

Besides the contentment *Sejanus* had to possesse his Master alone, he managed the affaires with more surety and lesse enuy, but giuing still leane vnto fortune to fasten the surer vpon him. His abode at *Rome* was not so fit for estranging from his house all ordinary company, he left his friends, but in receiuing them daily, he made the number to be knowen, & ministred jealousy to his Master, he reaped hereby also another commodity for he alone receiuing the packets which the souldiers of the Guard brought, he was sole Arbitr of all dispatches. All the functions of *Tiberius* soule were distracted in this horrifull leasure, and all his strength melted away in these delights, which *Sejanus* alwaies seasoned with some notable example, because the Prince beleeeved that his authority would be lost if his severity maintained not the reputation thereof. This

Scipio *scipio*
reproch. Tac.

Scipio *scipio*
pe. *Scipio* *scipio*
reproch. Tac.

Scipio *scipio*
pe. *Scipio* *scipio*
reproch. Tac.

He then made
dies with more
business given
way vnto fortune,
to lay more hold
of him.

Scipio *scipio*
pe. *Scipio* *scipio*
reproch. Tac.
The souldiers
carried the
packets and
were called
speculatores.

*Hinc metus in
omnes & fuga
eorum qui conui-
uium celebra-
bant. Ta.*

*Qui non sui sed
principis est an-
xius, cum fide
audiat quan-
quam exilio
iudicabit. Ta.*

*Nero quamquam
modesta iuuenta
tamen quid in
presensiarum
conduces obli-
vit. Ta.*

*Nihil quidem
prava cogitatio-
nis sed interdum
bonis contumaces
& inconstantes.
Ta.*

solitude produced an occasion which greatly confir-
med the prooffe of his fidelity, for as *Tiberius* on a
time dined in a Caue, the mouth of that falling downe
flew some of his Officers, and he himselfe had beene
smothered without the helpe of *Seianus*, who covered
him with his head and hands, his Princes safety being
more precious vnto him then his owne, from thence
forth he followed his counsels, were they neuer so
dangerous, without any consideration either of the
ground or consequence, as of a person who had wit-
nessed to haue no other interest therein, then that of
his authority. He caused him resolute to rid himselfe of
Nero the neereest to the succession, whose hopes trou-
bled his rest, and busied the mindes of the people with
a desire of change: he playes the part of a Iudge, and
his people about him were the accusers, and condem-
ned him as an offender. This young Prince had mo-
desty enough in his condition, but little iudgement to
take any sudden resolution, and to weigh the counsels
of his seruants, who ceased not to tell him that his
birth carried him to the Empire, that the people desi-
red it; that the legions craved it; that *Seianus* was wic-
ked enough not to wish it, but not powerfull enough
to hinder it. These words did not infuse into his
soule any euill thoughts, but drew from his mouth at
vnawares certaine words, which being reported to
Seianus, and by him to *Tiberius*, were taken for a con-
spiracy; when he is in Court they take heed of all that
he doth, they blame his words, and his silence also is
blamed. All his actions are watched, there is no safety
nor assurance in his owne house, and the night it selfe
will conceale nothing for him. If he sleeps in his

winces

wines bo some, even there he shall finde perfidious dealing, for like a vessell that leaks she lets all run out that is put into her, she reports vnto *Livia* the Emperours Mother his waking dreames, and his very sighes, *Livia* recounts them to *Seianus*, who bandies his Brother *Drusus* against him, giuing him hope of the first ranke, when his elder Brother whom the hatred of *Tiberius* had already much shaken, should be beaten downe. *Drusus* was of a fierce spirit, for besides his desire to command, and the emulation which is ordinarily betwixt brethren, hee was desperately iealous that *Agrippina* his Mother loued *Nero* better then him. *Seianus* had no better heart, nor bore any greater affection to *Drusus* then to the other, but knowing that he had courage, and durst carry himselfe stoutly in danger, he supposed it would be more easie for him to lay some ambush to entrap and ruine him.

All *Germanicus* friends were sought after and persecuted, one friend betrayed another, the firmest friendship went not so farre as the Altar, but couered such inhumane disloyalties as they shewed how dangerous it was for man to trust man, whose forehead is a lyar, his eye a traitor, and his countenance a deceiver. *Sabinus* accused with *Silius* remained not any long time, but that he saw himselfe to be at the same chiffe from whence he was precipitated, but it was by a notable treason. Foure Pretors followed the Consul, the supreme honour of our Romane ambition, twelue vltiers marched before the Consul, he that sate downe rose vp, and he that was on horseback, or in his Coach alighted, each man was vncouered, and many put by their swords to doe them reuerence. These men ha-

A Roman Senator to assay the discretion of his wife, as of a vessell ill closed he would not poure thereunto, either wine or oyle but water onely feeding her curiosity with nothing but flames and gust of his owne inuentions. *Plut.*

Nemox quidem secum cum uxor vigilia, somnia, Iulpiria, matris

Liviae orque illa Seiano patet.

Ta. Iam didi seipsum scitum aduocantur. Ta.

Multis simulati- onum involucris tegitur natura unius cuiusque frons oculi uultus per se patet. Cic.

Consulatu videri aut praetorem omnia quibus toner haberi solum faciam equo desiliam, caput aperiam semina sciam. Sen.

using no means to obtaine it but by the fauour of *Se-*
ianus, which could not be acquired by any iust nor
 honourable waies, knew not what to resolve; to giue
 him money, he hath no need of it; he hath the dispo-
 fall of the riches of the Empire, and of the treasure of the
 Emperour, which amounts vnto more then 7200. mil-
 lions, their nature is too violent and peruerse to fur-
 nish him with pleasures, and for honours he is greater
 then the Emperour, for his will is a law to them of his
 faction, his Statues are raised as high as those of *Cæ-*
sars, to purchase the fauour of the Oracle he makes
 a sacrifice of the heads of his enemies.

Of this number was *Titus Sabinus* a Roman knight,
 who thinking that the friend that sakers was neuer a-
 ny, continued after the death of *Germanicus* his affecti-
 on towards his children, assisting them in their affaires
 at home, and bearing them company through the
 streets abroad, glorying in the constancy of his fideli-
 ty, in such a time when their most faithfull friends were
 become fearefull, and the most obliged ingratefull.

This being pleasing to honest men, and incensing the
 mischieuous, was quickly perceined by *Seianus*, who e-
 steemed it a brauado and contempt, that a man of that
 degree should set so litle by his power, as openly to de-
 clare himselfe for his enemy. These men haue notice of
 the wound in his heart, and go about to plucke out the
 arrow which sticke in it, *Eniurus* to betray *Seianus*
 becomes the spie, and the rest witnesses, he had some
 former acquaintance with him, he now renewes, im-
 proves, and reinforces it, with a more strict familiarity,
 begins to praise him that he remained so constant in
 his friendship towards the family of *Germanicus*, af-
 ter

Seianus uolens
 sui ipsius
 gloriam. Ta.

The friendship
 that ceased
 was never
 friendship.
Seianus domi
 comes in public
 post tot clauis
 am. Ta.

Seianus apud bonos
 laudator gravis
 iniquis. Ta.

*Compositum in-
 ter ipsos ut Lati-
 nus firmeret do-
 lum ceteri testes
 adessent.*

get that others flinched away, he spoke of this Prince with honour, of his wife with pity, and of his children with hopes, *Scianus* thinking to have found a man truly confident for to pour into his heart his griefes, as mens hearts are alwaies tender in feeling of calamities, he let drop his teares, then his plaints followed them, and after that reproches and injuries against *Scianus*, he speaks of his cruelties, his pride, and his designs, and as it is difficult to bridle a discourse when choller and passion have scope, many frank words escaped him against *Tiberius*.

Placens Amici ad fridam deformis. Ta.

Mallet in calamitate mortali-um animi. Ta. Effudit lacrimas iunxit quer-ssum audientiam curat Scianum seculis superbi-um fieri eum. Ta.

This secret passion so evaporated, and his mind so freely discharged, he beleaved that he was well assured of the amity and freedom of *Latitia*; because they have mixed together their bold complaints and words dangerous and prohibited.

Species arde a-micitia inter eo-qui sermonibus unita misceant.

And as afflicted soules know and seek out one another, *Robinus* went every day towards *Latitia*, still to open him some new wound in his heart, and that so much the more confidently, by how much hee held him for a most trusty friend, the more he should spend more time and iudgement to try him.

Latitia et Robinus.

Latitia related this discourse of *Scianus* to three other Senators; but because the proofe of one man alone was not enough to condemn him, they agreed to hide themselves betweene the boards and the ceiling, to hear him; in the meane while *Latitia* should make him continue and renew this discomfort by finding him in the market place, bringe him to his house, and tell him hee had news to tell him, the chamber being close, he represents unto him the danger past and the present miserie, whereat those times

Turpis latebra latetanda frons. Ta.

Latitia et Robinus.

were

*Præterita & in-
stantia quorum
affatim copia ac
novos terrores
cumulat. Ta.*

*Meſſianbi ſemel,
prorupere, diffi-
cilius reſiſcentur.*

*ſiſſis ad Ceſa-
rem liſteris ordi-
nem fraudis ſu-
umq; ipſiſe decus
narravere. Ta.*

*Toſiana chari-
tatis. Damm*

*Nite igneque
aures vitantur
muta arg. inopi-
ma & parietes
circum ſpella-
bantur. Ta.*

were but too much abounding; he raises vpon the old
complaints new feares, not so much to let him know, that
all was desperate, as to make him ſing and ſpeake to
his owne guile: *Sabinus* who yet beleueed more, an-
ſwered, that matters were in that ſtate, as there can be
nothing ſaid nor pronosticated, but ill; that there was
no expectation of any goodneſſe in a gouernment ſo
tyranicall and insolent: and as we cannot eaſily retaine
complaints and iniuries, when once they haue found a paſ-
ſage, and it is difficult to conceale that which hurts
vs, he made *Seianus* the instrument of all the calamity
private and publique. We doe hardly retayne that
which hurts vs.

All this diſcourſe came thorow the holes of the
boards into the eares of the three Senators, who as
ſoone as *Sabinus* was departed, perfected the treason;
Tacitus ſaith that at the very inſtant by expreſſe let-
ters they certified all vnto *Cæſar*, expreſſing vnto him
the treason and their infamy, and *Dien* ſaith, that this
was done to gratifie *Seianus*: he ſhould adde there-
vnto, that it concerned themſelues, for beſides that
they would draw a recompence of this diſloyalty, and
attaine to the honour of Conſulſhip in diſhonouring
themſelues in this manner, if any of them had be-
trayed his companion there was an end of their liues.

The rumour of this wickedneſſe being carryed to
Caprea, was brought againe preſently to *Rome*, where
it marueilouſly troubled mens mindes ſet euery man
vpon his guard. The eares of all both knowne, and
vknowne, were ſuſpected, they ſuſpected the very
walls and things in ſenſible, euery where was noight
but ſilence, ſorrow and aſtoniſhment.

Sabinus

Sabinus is layd hands vpon the first day of the yeere. *Is it thus* (said hee to those that tooke him) *that they begin the new yeere, must Seianus haue oblations of this qualitie, what assurance is there then for a Romane Citizen, seeing that amongst our voves and sacred Ceremonies, wherein wee abstaine from the least prophane speech wee may perceiue Ropes to bind and strangle withall, and that in the Temple wee find Pri- sons.*

They put him to death presently, not giuing him leasure to defend or iustifie himselfe. His Dog lay downe by his dead body, brought to his mouth the bread that was giuen him, and when hee was cast into *Tiber*, hee lept after him to keepe him vp that he might not sinke into the bottome. All the towne wondred to see such gratitude in a Beast, during so many ingratitude and inhumanities which then defamed men. All his accusers dyed miserably, and as Princes hate Traytors when they haue gathered the profite of their Treasons, so *Tiberius* rid them away: for when hee had serued his turne with such bad Instruments, hee brake them and tooke new ones.

The Emperour thanked the Senate for freeing the Common-wealth from such an Enemie, and added, that he passed his life in fear and trembling, that the coniurations of his Enemies held him in paine, and although he named them not, it was easily perceiued that hee pointed at *Agrippina* and her Children.

Asinius speaking according to his accustomed freedome and libertie, said, *That it was fit the Em-*

N

peror

Inter sacra &
vota verbis
etiam profanis
abstinere mos
Tac.

Cum quidam
ex cor na cir-
cumstante cani-
cibum obicif-
set, ad os de-
functi tulit.
Innatavit
idem in Tibe-
rim cadaveris
abiecto sisten-
tare conatus.
Plin.

Tiberius sce-
lerum mini-
stros vi per-
ueri ab alijs
nolebatur ita
plerumque sa-
tius & ob-
latio in can-
dem operam
recentibus, ve-
teres & prae-
graves afflixit.
Tac.

Qui metus
facetur, eos a-
moveri linat.
Tac.

Ægrius accipit
princeps, ea
que recludit
quam que
promittit. Tac.

Tiberius len-
tus in medi-
tando, ubi
prorupisset
tristioribus
dictis atrocis-
sima coniun-
gebat. Tac.

Asinius Pollio
made a Tra-
gedy of the
Ciuill wars.
Interroga
Cæsar quam
partem rei
publicæ tibi
mandari velis?
Tac.

Speaking to
Princes we
must not so
much consider
that that be
true which
we speake, as
whether they
be willing to
hearken there-
unto.

Julia Augusta
83 annos vitæ
Puci o reuliz
acceptos, non
alio vino vsa.
Plini.

per our should be encreased to discover his feares, and suffer them to remoue them from his heart. Tiberius tooke this to be too bold an aduice, for it sent a bright beame to the bottome of his heart, which hee was not willing to discover. Seianus pacified him, not for any loue to Gallus, but to the end that his chol-ler being restrained, his fall might be the more head-long and violent, hauing alwayes obserued, that the more Tiberius meditated reuenge, the more did time and delay sharpen it, and the farther off he threatned, the heauier the stroake fell.

*Asinius Gallus was of great repute in the Com-
monwealth, but in much more disgrace with Ti-
berius, who feared his courage, hated his vertue,
said that his pride was an hereditary disease, blaming
Asinius Pollio his Father, a brave captaine, a very per-
swading Orator, an excellent Poet, a friend to truth
in a time when it was very odious.*

*Tiberius (who neuer forgot the stinging speech
which Asinius had spoken to him at his first com-
ming to the Empire, when alleaging that hee was
capable but of the one halfe thereof, he sodainely
asked him which he would haue) cast him in prison
where hee languished three yeeres, in the end death
set him at liberty, but it is not knowne whether it
were naturall or forced. Princes will not be other-
wise treated withall, then thus; wee must speake
to them by supplication and remonstrance; to tell
them of their faults, is not to correct them, but to
offend them.*

*About this time dyed the Emperours Mother a-
ged according to Dion 86. or according to Plinie*

82. who referres the length of her life to the quality of the wine she dranke.

The Senate ordained for her great honours, but her sonne (not out of modesty, but out of enuy) cut off some part thereof, and by his letters dissembled nothing that he was offended at the fauours of his Mother, taxing the Consull *Fulvius*, whom the Emperresse loued: a man fit to attract the loue of women, and who had the art to speake gracefully, and could giue *Tiberius* such close girds, that would bite him sore, and whose sharpenesse hee had felt: great men doe not easily forget that which neuer so little exceedeth merriment.

Facetiarum
apud prae-
textas in lon-
gum memoria
est, dum acer-
be sunt. Tac.

Tiberius his haire were waxen gray vnder the obedience of his Mother; for neither his age nor his maiestie had freed him from this dutie; that wise Roman said, *That who loves not those that brought him into the world is impious, and hee that doth not acknowledge them is mad.* But this respect founded vpon the deuore of nature, did not impeach the libertie of State Reason, which is iealous of any thing that may inroach vpon Authority; hee was offended that his Mother dedicating an Effigie of *Augustus* neere the Theater of *Marcellus*, did place the name of *Livia* before that of *Tiberius*; he thought that Maiestie was wounded in that, and a Prince should not indure it to be touched in any thing.

Parentes non
amare Impie-
tas est; non
agnoscere In-
fania. Sen.

Livia *Tiberij*
nomen suo
postscriptum,
Tiberius vt
inferius Maie-
state principis
disimulatum
& graui of-
fensione ab-
didit. Tac.

Shee was married to *Tiberius Nero*, father to the Emperour *Tiberius*, and *Augustus* extreame taken with her loue, rauished her from her husband, and that so sodainly, that hee gaue her not time to lye

Penatibus
gravidam in-
duxit. Tac.

in the house from whence hee tooke her. It is not knowne whether shee consented to this change, or whether her ignorance gaue her any colour; faire women which haue committed any fault by the perswasion of a Prince, beicue that Authority excuseth them: *Hellen* said, *That her Mother offended not, hauing Iupiter as a warrant for her transgression.*

Vitium au-
thore redemit.
Ouid.
Matris in ad-
misso fal a sub
imagine lufæ
error inest,
pluvia rectus
adulter erat.
Ouid.

Scribonia wife to *Augustus* was repudiated for hauing too freely complained of the immoderate power of this new friend: her fall assured *Liuis*, and her fault taught her hus to gaine the heart of her husband, shee must please his humour; wherefore being asked how shee could so absolutely rule her husband; she answered, *in not prying into his actions, and in dissembling his affections.*

Quid viuis si
perire te tam
multorum in-
terest? quis fi-
nis erit suppli-
cium? quis
sanguinis? D.
Aug.

Seueritate
nihil adhuc
profecisti, ten-
ta quomodo
tibi cedat cle-
mentia: ig-
nosce Cinna;
depressus
est, iam nocere
tibi non po-
test, prodesse
facit tua po-
test, D. Liv.

Neuer did woman giue better aduice to her husband; for seeing that *Augustus* to haue reigned seuerely liued not securely, and that *Cinna* did goe about to kill him in a towne of the *Ganies*, at such time as hee was to offer sacrifice, and to giue him vp as an oblation for the publike weale. *Augustus* was much discontented with this enterprize, and wished his death, seeing so many men desired that hee should die, and that a man of that qualitie, Nephew of *Pompey*, should attempt to take away his life: being in this perplexitie *Liuis* his wife spake vnto him these memorable words, *The Remedies you haue vsed haue not preuailed, embrace their contraries; seuerity hitherto hath beene vnprofitable, essay what clemency will doe, pardon Cinna, his designe is disconered, hee cannot annoy your life, and may increase your reputation.*

tion. *Augustus* was perswaded by her, caused *Cinna* come vnto him, and shewing him how hee was enformed of his enterprize, said vnto him; *I haue already giuen you life as an enemy and rebell, I giue it you now as a traitor and parricide; let vs speake no more of it, let vs be friends, let vs make it appeare which of vs will doe better, I, in pardoning, or you in repenting.*

Contendamus
vtrum ego
meliore fide
vitam tibi de-
de iman, tu
debeat.

As *Tiberius* had his fauourite, *Linia* also had hers; to obtaine any thing of *Tiberius*, the passage must be through the discretion of *Seianus*; and hee that will purchase the fauour of *Linia* must sacrifice to *Virgularia*; whose Authority in the Citie was so great, that none durst enterprize any thing against her, how iust soeuer it were; for shee did raise her aboute the Lawes; moreouer, shee was a woman so fierce and arrogant, that being called before the Senate, shee refused to appeare, although no per-

Amicitia Au-
gustae Virgula-
niam extulerat
supra leges.
Tac.

son was dispensed withall, not the Vestall Nunnes. *Tiberius* was constrained (for the respect hee bore his Mother) to be troubled for any thing that concerned her, in such manner, that her Nephew hauing throwne his wife out of the windowes, hee incontinently went to visit the Chamber, and saw that this woman did not precipitate her selfe as her husband did alleadge, for they beheld the markes of the effect to push her, and of her resistance to with-stand.

Vestales in
foro & iudi-
cio audiri,
quoties testi-
monium dice-
rent, vetus mos
fuit. Tac.
Virgularia
monitu prin-
cipis, pugio-
nem nepoti
misit. Tac.

As long as this Princeesse was aliue, hee modera-
ted his will, submitting it (for respect vnto her) to
her counsels, and *Seianus* likewise in dutie hum-
bled his designes to her commandements, not da-

Tunc veluti
frangis exoluti
proruperunt.
Tac.

Sanctitate do-
mus priscum
ad morem, co-
mis ultra quā
antiquis scemi-
nis probatum
materium po-
tius vxor faci-
lis, & cum ar-
tibus mariti
simulatione
filij bene
composita.

There is no-
thing in man
but his ambi-
tion which
waxeth not
old *Thucid. &
Plut.*

Quis nulla
ex honesto
spes, publica
mala in occa-
sionem gratie
erantur.
Tac.

ring to gainsay them; but after this death, all things grew irregular and disorderly, and there was now no more hope or refuge for innocency.

C. Caesar who succeeded in the Empire praised her publicly before the Pallace, for that she had religiously governed her household after the old fashion, not permitting the present time to bring in againe those vanities and curiosities which had so much marred the simplicitie of former ages: a Princesse, gentle and courteous, and of a higher straine of Princely carriage then other women of her time, a mother that would not endure any thing, a wife that had nothing in her vsufferable, and so discreet that she could sagely fit her selfe to the wisdome of *Augustus*, and the dissimulation of *Tiberius*.

The Senate receiued Letters from *Tiberius* against *Agrippina* and her children. It was thought they had beene written long before, but that the Emperresse had detained them, foreseeing that they would cause some trouble; and although her ambition was not growne old, yet shee desired to passe the remainder of her dayes in peace.

They accused not *Nero* or *Drusus* of any crime against the State, nor of lenying of troopes, nor of introducing of nouelties, but onely to be debauched; there could be nothing said against the Mother, but to reproach her with her pride and stubbornenesse. The Letters being read, there was some question touching the deliberating thereof; and as the opinions were more or lesse rigorous, according to the nature of those which were too opine, some Senators whose hopes could not be groundd vpon honour, who

who fought for occasion of grace and fauour in the miseries of the publike, were of opinion contrary to the more ancient and wiser, who lifting vp their thoughts higher then these, found that there was no minde so strong and firme but ought to be very reserved, in giuing either counsell or iudgement vpon the liberty or life of him who might succcede the Prince.

Tiberius had giuen the charge of the Acts and Records of the Senate to *Iunius Rusticus*, who hauing neuer before giuen any prooffe of constancy or courage, shewed notwithstanding, that it were good to proceede slowly in this businesse, that they may giue the old man time and space to repent himselfe and reuoke his commandement, for things of greatest moment oftentimes change themselves on a sodaine; that nature also was strong and flourishing in the house of *Germanicus*, but in that of *Tiberius* weake and feeble.

Dandum in-
terstitium
penitentiae.
Tac.

Breuius mo-
mentis securi-
da verti pos-
sunt. Tac.

Vpon this contention, the people who would not indure that these Princes should be treated as criminals, detest this iniustice, and casting the blame therof vpon *Seianus*, carry the effigies of *Agrippina* and *Nero* through the Citie, assemble themselves about the Pallace, cry out, these Letters were false and counterfeited, make *Seianus* his proceffe, and faigning the opinions of the Senators, the boldest of the company hauing gathered them of his companions pronounce against him the sentence of death. And hereupon there wanted not Satyres to be dispersed abroad, so much the more bitter, by how much the authors were vnkowne, and are the more greedily collected

Ferebantur
sub nominibus
consularium
fictæ in Seia-
num sententiae.
Tac.

Per occultum
libido inge-
niorum ex-
citetur pro-
cacijs. Tac.

lected and sought after, by how much the more they are sharpe and ingenious.

Seianus who should haue warded these blowes by his contempt of them, giues contentment to his enemies, as to let them know that this troubles him; lets the Emperour see that his Maiestie is wronged by his iniurie, that the people vndertaking to raise assemblies, and pronounce sentences, there remained to them no other thing, but to take armes, and to choose for Emperour him whose Image they carried for their Ensignes.

Tiberius sends new letters to the Senate, continues his complaints against *Agrippina* and her children, against the timerity and insolence of the people, and against the Senate for inclining more to the cunning of one Senator, then to the reuerence of his commandment, in contempt of his pleasure, and derision of his authority: but he addes further, that he reserves to himselfe the knowledge of him: the fathers excuse themselues, protesting that they were resolved to punish them to the vttermost, if his commandments had not stayed them.

Here all the world laments the vnestimable losse of the bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus*, by which wee might attaine to the knowledge of *Agrippinaes* fortune, of the coniuration of *Seianus*, and would lighten vs with the torch of truth amidst the obscurity of coniectures. Libraries haue preserved many Books, to whom we will willingly resort, for that which is wanting of this excellent Historian, who knew all that hee should know of the affaires of the world.

Now

Facile populus
duces impera-
toresque dili-
git, quorum
imagines pro
vexillis sequi-
tur. Tac.

Integra sibi
cuncta postu-
lanit.

Inestimable
losse of the
Annals of
*Cornelius Ta-
citus*, not of
some few
pages, but of
all things past
since the years
782. vnto
785.

Now *Tiberius* ceased not vntill such time as the Senate did content him, and that all his violences were authorised by their iudgement. There was nothing did so much further the condemnation of *Agrippina* and her children, then the aduice which *Seianus* gaue to *Tiberius*, that shee was determined to goe through the Temples of *Rome* and embrace the Statues of *Augustus*, to moue the people, and if that way did not preuaile, to direct her course to *Almaine* to seize the Legions.

Agrippina was not more mildely handled then her children, and we must belecue of her the same which *Suetonius* reports of them: that hee caused them to be declared enemies, and to dye of hunger: *Nero* was confined to the Isle of *Pontia*, and *Drusus* a prisoner in the Pallace; the bruit was, that *Nero* seeing the Hangman bring a balter and a hooke to make his choise of, killed himselfe; and that meate being denied to *Drusus*, hee had eaten the stuffings of his bed: but the death of these two Princes arrived not so soone, nor in this manner. *Suetonius* related this vpon report, which is fraughted as well with fables as truths, they did their worst against *Agrippina*, and that worst was to banish her to the Isle of *Pandatria* in the *Tirrhonian* Sea, where she expected each houre for some to come to strangle her, or that sleeping they would ioyne death to her slumber; but *Tiberius* would haue her life serue her for punishment; and as wrongs are lesse supported by such as thinke not to haue deserved them, and that the cause is vniust; so this poore Princess gaue no intermission to her lamentation and

Notissime ca-
lamniatus
modo ad sta-
nam Augusti
modo ad ex-
ercitus con-
fingere velle.
Suet.

Accusauit per-
loras amarif-
sime congestis
eciam prohi-
et Inducit
tristis fami-
necum. Suet.

Druso adeo
alimento sub-
ducta, vti
mentum a cu-
citra tentauit
rit mandare.
Suet.

Pandatriam
relegauit.
Suet.

Somnium
mori iungere.
Petr.

Odiom
causa gemit-
re. Tac.

bewai

bewailing of the inhumanitie of *Tiberius*. Seeing we know the iniurie shee suffered, wee may well guesse the complaints shee vttered; her daily discourse was this, but it is not quickened with the grace wherewith her grauitie endowed it, nor the ardour wherewith her choler enflamed it.

And oruell, is he content, to see that with a gluttied heart hee may now quench in the blood of *Augustus* this feruent thirst which so much tormented him; and this destroyall *Seianus*, will be complaine of fortune, that brought vnto his power these three heads which stopped his passage to tyranny.

*Inrimtant
nihil amplius
doluitur do-
mipiamen-
tum. Sen.*

*Quid miserius
in vita quam
vellemori?*

*quid in morte
quam sepeliri
non possit.
Sen.*

The gods haue chosen mine alone to beare all the miseries of my house, and the expiation of all others: I demand of them but one fauour, which is death; is it possible that they will deny it vnto the miserable? and what is more miserable in this life, then to desire death, or in death to be deprived of Sepulture?

*Aug. discouered this
secret to Ful-
nius, who told
it to his wife,
she to Lonia.*

*Aug. was
angry with
Fulnius, who
for spite kill
himselfe. Plut.*

The plaints which are not prohibited to the most wretched, and which giue some ease to misery, are not permitted vnto me; and yet know I not but some body ouer-heares me, who will recount all that I speake, and I am well-pleased therewith, it is a badge of feare and debilitie not to dare speake our oppression.

*Aug. discouered this
secret to Ful-
nius, who told
it to his wife,
she to Lonia.*

*Aug. was
angry with
Fulnius, who
for spite kill
himselfe. Plut.*

I will poure forth my mones to heauen and earth of the inhumanities of *Tiberius* exercised vpon the dead and the liuing; he was author of my *Vnckles* death, who recoiled his hopes; *Augustus* my Grandfather a little after discovered his intension to *Fulnius* to call backe *Agrippa*: This poore *Agrippa* was the first victim slaughtered in the entry of his raigne. *Julia* my mother, who for her last misfortune and her third hus-
band

band had espoused this cruel man, incontinently
 posted after her Sonne. Germanicus was impa-
 ned, his wife banished; Nero exiled, Drusus a pri-
 soner, Caligula in their power; what wish they
 more?

I have beene married, hee hath ravished away my
 husband from me; I could be sped of another of the
 chiefest Families of Rome, he hath hindered it: I have
 beene a Mother, he deprived me of my children; I
 was free, he used me as a slave; there is nothing lefts
 me but honour, and he seekes with impudent calum-
 nies to wither it away; his obloquies taking no hold
 of me, he framed an imposture which carries the
 stinke of the place from whence it issueth: he saies
 that Asinius Gallus beares me affection, I doe acknow-
 ledge my selfe beholding to him, to deeme me worthy
 to be beloned of a man whom Augustus held wor-
 thy of the Empire; but he is my Brother in law,
 and I beare not so little respect unto my Sister Vip-
 sania, as to robbe her of the heart of her Hus-
 band.

My precedent actions will answer the present;
 neuer knew what it meant to love any but the friends of
 my Husband, and as farre as it lay in my power, I have
 not fixed my eyes nor thoughts upon any other. If I had
 any beauty, I neither beleaved it, nor suffered I should be
 spoken to of it, and made no reckoning of it but for de-
 cencie.

They have reason to say that I was too proud: It is
 true, my disdaines have served my designs, for dis-
 dainfull beauties intrap not the hearts: I must needs
 avow that the passion of love hath given place in my

Agrippina
sequi impati-
ens, dominan-
di auida, vi-
rilibus curis
feminarum
vitia exuerat.
Tac.

minde to that of ambition, and that I was more delighted in employments which doe onely appertaine to manly courages, then to vanities, which please but the effeminate. It is long since I haue quitted the imperfections of my sexe, to take male and generous thoughts.

The property
of good men
is to doe well,
but of the
wicked, to
speake ill, and
do worse.
Plut.

But these Impostures are but the smoakes of that burning desire of Seianus to arrive vnto the Empire: for seeing that Rome beares me good will, and that this good will is sustained but by the opinion they conceiue of some merit, hee did defame mee as a wicked woman, but as hee surmounted me in speaking ill, I haue alwayes surpassed him in doing well.

The Aspet
of ambition
increaseth by
fame.
Tales was
wont to say
that a man
which had
passed the age
of sixtie yeare,
should not
stretch his
hand to the
people to haue
voice or suf-
frage. Plut.

Let him content himselfe to haue reduced me to that estate, as he needes no more to stand in feare of me; and I finde consolation that he hath brought me to that point, that he can doe me no worse, for I will esteeme for great fauours the greatest harmes he can doe me. Let him not dread that I will any more oppose his ambition, he is to stand in greater awe of fortune then of me, I doe not thinke he will be more fauourable to a wicked designe, then he hath bene partaill in the protection of a iust and lawfull cause.

His ambition hath no bounds, facietia giues him appetite, he was wont to say in the beginning that he did content himselfe with the Office of Colonell of the Gard, he would haue no more. And now, when for his old age he should onely present his hand to the Physician, he would charge it with a Tribunes staffe, to be in the next degree to soueraigne command: and he aske his courage whether he were capable of it: hee neuer saw bat.

bastell but painted, neuer drew sword but for a show.

After all this, his will is, that I should live, to the end that death may serue me as a punishment, not permitting me to shew that a woman can overcome the terrour of death, which very victors redoubted, and seemes that all the passages to come to death, or to cause death come to me are stoppt. It must needes be that I shall finde it in my affliction, and that my courage yeelde vnto it; I will not resist his violence, consolations will redouble it, I will refuse them from what part soeuer they come; these of my friends are commendable in them, but unprofitable vnto me.

If abstinence, affliction, solitude, and griefe may not with-draw me from this misery: And if it must needes be that I lining dye, and dying live, I shall attend what end the gods shall be pleased to send me; and hap what will, as I haue liued Agrippina I will dye Agrippina.

The smart of her wounds daily inflaming, the alwayes increased and renewed without ceasing the complaints which an exercis'd grief could not moderate: her words were reported to Tiberius, who was very glad that she continually gaue him occasion to make worse their ill vsage to her; for it would grieue him that her patience would oblige him to any turtessie: hee commanded the Captaine, in whose ward she was, not to let passe these bad speeches without blowes; this cruell man who well perceiued that to please Tiberius hee must ouirage Agrippina: hearing her to perseuere in her complaints

He that is vnder the power of an other, impaires his condition by his impatience and liberty of his complaints.

Comitanti
oculum per
Ceturiionem
verberibus ex-
cussit. Suet.

and reproaches against *Tiberius*, did so inhumane-ly and brutishly beate her, that he pulled out one of her eyes.

Mori in edia
destinanti per
vim ore di-
ducto inflicti
cibum insit.
Suet.

After this barbarous outrage, she would no longer liue, and no more to attend death, but to goe and meet him: shee remained some dayes without eating, but the Souldiers forcibly opening her mouth constrained her to swallow downe nutri-ment: shee was in this more vnfortunate then o-thers, that may dye at their pleasure, and haue no im-pediment but their will; she would faine die, but they will that she liue; Death is the onely receit for her euils, and they keepe her by force from it: those men are not lesse cruell who kill them which desire to liue, then those who doe compell them to liue which desire to dye.

Ad moriendū
nihil aliud in
mora quam
velle. Sen.
Non magis
crudeles sunt
qui volentem
vixisse occi-
dunt, quam qui
mori volentes
non sinunt.
Sen.

Seianus for all this is not where hee weenes: all that hee did to aduance his proiect, recoyles it; for *Tiberius* being rid of the mistrust of *Germanicus*, of the iealousie of *Drusus*, and reuenged of the pride of *Agrippina* and her children; thinkes of nothing that might more trouble him then the arrogance and vnlimited power of *Seianus*, this ioynes new suspici-ons to old feares, and puts in his head that he drea-med of the Empire.

Quod in for-
tuna sequens
est, eos repente
velut facinorosa
delinquit. Q.
Cui.

Fortune also began to be weary of following him; for he went too fast, as if she had but raised him to cause him to fall from so high a pitch, as no body should dare to stretch out their arme, or present their bosome to receiue him. *Tiberius* who loued him, began to feare him, and seeing the Senate to make

make

make more account of him then himselfe, entred into some apprehension that they would make him Emperour; and from thenceforth purposed to plucke this thorne out of his heart: but he did nothing rashly, for it was dangerous, not onely to vndertake to ruine him, but to make a shew thereof, he went on verily slowly, and against the aduice of wise men, who are of opinion that great matters should be sooner done then consulted.

This delay proceeded from prudence and affection; for it vexed him to vndoe a man, who began to serue him before he began to raigne.

Notwithstanding, I doe beleue that if there had beene but this, hee would dissemble it, and would neuer rid himselfe of him; for hee was very proper for his humours, knowing them most perfectly, agreeing to his desires, soothing his opinions, drew him so dexterously from dangers, and vntwined his perplexities; he had cut off all the principall heads which brought him either feare or ieaousie, and reposing himselfe on the vigilancy of a seruant so faithfull and approved, hee did not intermeddle but with great occurrents, but liued at ease in his life.

And although it be difficult to sound the hearts of Princes, and the motiues of sodaine prosperities; yet it is certaine, that there is not a neerer way to purchase his good will, then to serue him in such things as are either agreeable or profitable, to conduct his pleasure and mannage his purse: all that is honest and profitable should please, but the passion

*Dissemble that
Tiberius fea-
ring that hee
was fol-
lowed and re-
doubted of the
Senators, fea-
red least they
should make
him Emperer.*

*The good
Courtier
should know
the complexion
of his
Prince.*

*See vpon this
subject an ex-
cellent Trea-
tise of M. de
Kings Coun-
celler of France
J. V. an*

Rationem felicitatis nemo reddit. Aufon. To be beloved of a Prince, we must serve him in his pleasures.

The Prince should beare respect to seruices, to the end he may be the better served.

Seianus laboris capacissimus, sufficiente vigore animi compage corporis & actu ociosis similis. Vell.

Intra aliorum assinationes se mouent, vultu vique tranquillius, animo exsomnis. Vell.

of pleasure overcomes the consideration of honour and profit. *Seianus* was stored with all things that were besitting to entertain the Prince with pleasures, and banish the necessity of affaires, and did so command his heart, that he gaue it what motion he listed to loue, feare or hate.

He hath done him great seruices, and although the consideration of this be not alwayes plausible in the mindes of Princes; forthere are some, who the more they are bound the lesse they loue; yet *Tiberius* would haue great men vnderstand what they may hope for in seruing him well, but there is no likelihood that if he had not great gifts both of spirit and courage, he should not continue so long neere *Tiberius* a Prince hard to be pleased, seuer, skilfull, and mistrustfull: the History represents vs with two seuerall portraictures, the one set forth by the pencill of *Tacitus*, who layes him downe a wicked person, the other by the hand of *Velleius Paterculus* who flatters him and giues him all the properties of a perfect Courtier. He saith that The vigour of his body was answerable to the strenght of his spirit, which wrought without paine, and did all things as if hee had done nothing, and in his greatest actions seemed to be at repose, and as if hee had neither beene busied nor pressed, that he ranne not after occasions, nor ascribed vnto himselfe the honour, atchieued all and yet put himselfe beneath the esteeme that was had of him; one that neuer made shew of trouble or emulation in his countenance, his spirit alwayes watchfull and who neuer slept.

But

But howsoeuer it was *Seianus* was indeede an able man, and hauing lasted almost as long as *Tiberius*, wee may belecue that if fortune had not reuolted against his Counsels, he had constrained her to submit her selfe to his wisdom.

Onely I doe wonder, that hauing purchased so many friends, he had want of friends; that amongst so many heads depending vpon his, and could not stand firme if his were cut off, there was none that would speake freely and sincerely vnto him to preuent his ruine. But it is the common mishap of great ones, all the discourse wee hold with them must be gratefull and soothing, they thinke that truth owes them all that obseruance and respect doth lend them; if there were Iudges ordained for flattery, they would haue no doings, for there is none will complaine that they are flattered.

Seianus was so vnfortunate that hee had not any friend that would say vnto him sincerely and freely; Sir, moderate your spirit, despite not your fortune, play not with your Master, this time will not last alwaies, patience too much wronged turnes to fury. And if one would haue said so much, hee would not haue beleued it, pride did dazell him, hee bragged to haue fire and water in his hands, and that hee would vse them as hee pleased.

Tiberius then perceiuing, although too late, that *Seianus* built his hopes vpon his tombe, and that hee did not onely dreame, but verily thinke, yea

P

attempt

To speake to
great men
mildly and
pleasing, *A-*
thenews calleth
the same,
chariglottin.

Dion saith,
that if some
god were de-
scended and
had assured
the ruine of
Seianus, he
would not be-
leue for in
that time en-
ry man swore
by his fortune.

Not onely to
attemp, but
to thinke or
dream against
the State, is an
offence.

Summum ad
gradum clari-
tatis cum vene-
ris, egre con-
sistes. Labor.

Improba blan-
ditia, non quæ
amiciorem sed
quæ deterio-
rem facit af-
fectando. Alc.

Prouidebat
Cæsarem vr-
gente iam se-
necta, secreto-
que loci mol-
litum munia
Imperij, facili-
us transmis-
surum. Tac.

attempt the Empire: hee resolues to quench the
fire of this ambition with the bloud of the ambici-
ous. The first suspicion he had thereof was for his
marriage with *Liuis*, *Drusus* widdow. The second
was vpon this, that the house of *Germanicus* being
ruined, there was no stoppe for his insolency that
was mounted so high, that hee could no longer
stand vpon his legges. The third was the excesse
of his power in affaires of the Senate, of the trea-
sure and Commandments. The fourth, was his
great traine of seruants and attendants, whose ob-
sequiousnesse impaired his complexion. The fift
was vpon this, that hee held *Drusus* prisoner, and
C. Cæsar at his deuotion, that hee might vpon any
occasion produce them, and in their names conti-
nue the gouernment of the soueraignty. The sixt
was vpon the trickes hee vsed to diuert the Empe-
rour from sojourning in the City, and keeping him
as a captiue vnder the pretext of his absence, and of
his age. The seauenth, vpon the great and vio-
lent pursuit hee made to gaine the power of Tri-
bune. The eighth, that *Seianus* should vse cer-
taine words which hee desired rather to be concea-
led then expressed: and when of all this there were
but the onely suspicion of aspiring to the State, to
what end needed any further to seeke for a greater
crime.

But *Tiberius* is blamed for two acts shewing fee-
bleness of courage: The first for hauing suffered
the encrease of so great a power, which cannot be
attained with too much pain, nor lessened with too
much

much severity; the tree which at first was but a little twigge, spread its heads and branches so high that it made him a very dangerous shade; that which might haue beene plucked vp with one hand when it began to sprout out, tooke such large and deepe root, that it was afterwards hard to pull vp with both; that Prince who hinders not the encrease of Ambition when it doth but begin to grow, receiues no other profit by his sufferance but repentance and losse; the State cannot endure two Kings no more then the World two Suns, or the Temple two Deities. The Soueraigne authority is a strong Causey, which is not so soone destroyed by the violence of the current, or the weight of the water which it sustaines, as by some small rift or opening which makes way for the torrent to ouerthrow it.

The second is, for vsing so much ceremony in so vrgent an occasion, so much cunning in so great power, so much trembling and feare in so great assurance; for to rid him from him, he made him his Colleague in the Consulship, and neuer had any associate without misfortune.

When *Tiberius* wrote to the Senate, hee stuffed his Letters with the merits of *Seianus*, and his seruice done to the Empire: you should finde often these words therein; *Seianus my friend, my Seianus, I say my Seianus*. It seemes he had limited the glory of the Empire but to the continuance of his life; his Statues appeared euery where, euery one giues them presents as vnto their tutelary gods, who will

A bundance of blood drawne from the best veine, is well employed, to defend or acquire one only drop of Authority.

After that there is once a breach in Soueraigne Authority, it falls to wrack.

Quintus Varus, Cn. Piso, Germanicus & Drusus.

refuse to yeeld honour vnto him vnto whom the Emperour giues it so freely.

Vino debemus
homines, quod
soli animanti-
um non, sitien-
tes bibimus.
Plin.

This Consulship for five yeeres did amaze him, and as the excellency of the Wine vrgeth a man to drinke beyond drought, so sweetnesse of prosperity makes him drunke, and carries him farther then he would goe; whosoever is embarked on this Sea where there are so many perils, should neuer trust to calme, but haue his eyes alwayes fixed on the heavens to conduct him to the quiet haven of his hopes.

The solitary and voluptuous life of *Tiberius* was the ladder of his ambition, for like another *Sardanapalus* he boasted of nothing but his riotings. *Seianus* rocked him in this shamefull idlenesse, hauing maliciously accustomed him to preferre delightfull things before graue and serious: who so neglects to play the part of a Master, shall finde seruants bold enough to command him; and whosoever shewes himselfe a Prince in his Cabinet onely, may chance finde another in the field.

Impudency accompanied with pride drew from his mouth these words, which should not haue entered his thoughts; *I am Emperour of Rome, and Tiberius is Prince of the Isle*: hee represented Playes by bald men, which were conducted backe from the Theater by 5000. Boyes all shauen, to mocke at *Tiberius* his bald pate. This number will not be found so strange to them that know that the *Romans* had troopes and legions of them, and that some haue caused twety thousand to march before them, but

Athenus ac-
counts them
to be 20000.
and calls them
ante-ambulo-
nes.

but that hee should cause them to be shaven, for then there was great pride taken to curle and frisse their tresses.

Tiberius was presently enformed of this buffonery; and made shew as if he knew it not, although it pricked him to the quicke; but he would haue his dissembled ignorance excuse the slownesse of his assured reuenge: so is there nothing indeede which more neerely toucheth the heart of a Prince, then to see himselfe braued by a man whom hee hath raised from contempt, and the misery of a base condition: it is not lesse grievous to be reduced vnto the mockery of his seruants, then to the discretion of his enemies.

Vpon newes that the *Frisians*, a people inhabiting beyond the *Rhine*, had broken the peace, and defeated the Armies in battaile: the astonishment was so great at *Rome*, that euery one ran to the Altars of clemency and friendship, adoring the Statues of *Tiberius* and *Seianus*, which were neere them, praying them to bring them backe againe to *Rome*: *Tiberius* and *Seianus* would haue the Townesmen to iudge by their absence what commodity the presence of the Court did bring them: nor is it good that a Prince should alwayes remaine in one place; if the Sunne would neuer budge from some one of his twelue houses, all would not goe well: *Tiberius* therefore approached the Citie, but because hee came but vnto the Suburbs, without entring into the Towne, many thought that the limits of Astrologie and lying were not of so neere affinity as some

Familus calamistratus.
Apul.
Crinitus puer.
Sen.
Præcincti pueri compitibus.
Hor.

Aram clementiae aram amicitiae, effigiesq; circum Caesaris ac Seiani considerare: crebrisq; precibus efflagitant visendi sui copiam facerent. Tac.

Breve confi-
nium artis &
falsi, Tac.

said; for the Astrologians had reported that *Tiberius* was gone out of *Rome* vnder such a constellation, that hee would neuer returne againe; and there is great likelihood, that if this feare had not seized vpon his imagination, he would neuer haue staid eleuen yeeres out of *Rome*.

These predictions did encourage the complices of *Seiannus*, solliciting him not to temporize any longer, seeing the Starres haue conspired to his designe: and of the other side *Tiberius* would not be surprized; and as the feare of the danger which hee apprehended pressed him forward, so danger of the remedy kept him backe, but imagining that hee should be preuented, if *Seiannus* had any inkling of it, hee durst not consult but with himselfe of the Resolution hee was to take.

The King of
Persia had
ministers
whom they
call the eyes
and eares of
the King, and
by whom he
knew of all
things that
were done or
spoken euery
where. *Apul.*

Seiannus as yet mistrusted nothing, prosperity did blinde his eyes, hee beleued that *Tiberius* thought of nothing but of passing away the time at *Caprea*. There is nothing spoken of him at *Rome* but as of a Prince that did not Raigne, and liued not but by prayers, could not heare nor see any thing but through *Seiannus*, who alone was his eyes and his eares, thought of nothing but his pleasure and ease. This was the cause that moued *Seiannus* to carry and presse forward his designes to Soueraigntie with the greater violence; what blindenesse? hee hath not life for one month, yet hee frames enterprises for a whole age.

It

It was very hard, but that hee had some suspicion of the Emperours intention; all the Aduertisements that were sent to *Caprea*, or came to *Rome* passed through his hands, and hee barked to all; neither should they which are imployed in great matters neglect any thing; and although very often they are informed but of fables, yet some truth escapes, they make their profit of all, and they are well payed, if of an hundred aduertisements any one proues true.

There is not
so great a lyer,
but will some
times tell
truth.

He held mens mindes at his discretion, either for feare, or hopes, or for benefits, they who serued *Tiberius* depended vpon *Seianus*, and they who serued *Seianus* swore by no other name then by that of their Master. *Tiberius* did nothing but was related to *Seianus*, and hee was no way aduertised of what *Seianus* did against his seruice; hee had men fit for any thing, *Seneca* tearmes them his Dogges, which would sawne on no body but himselfe, and would bareke at any body else; for hee fed them with mens bloud; if they could not take by the front, they assaulted the flanke, and would imbrace men to suffle them: hee caused it to be noised that hee was to make him Tribune, writes to the Senate, that without him this great body of the Empire would fall vnto peeces: in all his Letters he writes that *Seianus* is the Oracle of his designes, the companion of his thoughts.

Mens hearts
are wonne, ei-
ther by hopes
or feare, or by
benefits,

Acerrimi ca-
nes quos Seia-
nus vt sibi vni
manfuctos
omnibus feros
habere, tan-
guis huma-
no pulcherr.
Sen.

The Senate which thought not of *Tiberius* dissimulation, search for all sorts of honours to raise

raise *Seianus*, ordaine that their names should bee inserted together in the same line in Parents and Inscriptions, their Chaires to bee in the same ranke in Theaters, and in Temples, their Statues to bee put vp in euery place, and that comming to *Rome* they should goe to meeete them.

He that intends the ruine of any body, is glad of his ill carriage.

He that makes another his heire, thinks to die before him.

Nullum magis aduersarium timeamus quam qui viuere non potest, occidere potest. Sen:

Tiberius was not sorry that the Senate did support the pride of *Seianus*, to the end that vanitie making him more insolent, his deportments would be more hatefull. In the meane while to make *Tiberius* beleeeue that his Designes went not beyond his life, hee caused *Germanicus* to be accused to haue attempted against the person of *Cesar*. This man for his Iustification, shewed before the Senate his Testament, by which hee did institute the Prince his heire, a prooffe of his affection, and that hee desired not to suruiue him; but this would not saue him: and as hee saw the Questour comming to put him to death, hee thrust himselfe into the belly with his Knife, and said vnto him, *Goe tell the Senate that I dye as a man should dye: Publica Prisca* his wife being at the Pallace did the like. I doe maruaile that among so many men who died so freely, there was not any that did goe about to kill *Nero* or *Seianus*, for hee that cares not for his life, doth easily vndertake to kill.

The favour of *Tiberius* so ardent, was not cooled at the first stroake, it became luke-warme, and after altogether congealed, hee strikes a blow this day for *Seianus*, and to morrow another against him, hee conferred the dignitie of High-priest vpon his Sonne, and although he abhorred *Caligula*, yet hee gaue him the same honour, and for this onely cause that hee was enemy to *Seianus*, he gratifies him now in yeeding to his demands, and anon he revoked what he had granted, and keepes his mind in such suspence, betwixt feare and hope; that he knowes not where hee is, and doth not any thing but Amazedly; hee commanded the Senate to absolue a proconsul whom *Seianus* accused.

Tiberius was accustomed to say when he beheld *Caligula*: I doe nourish him as a Serpent to the people of Rome, & a Phaeton to the rest of the world. *Suet.*

Tiberius did publicly praise *Caligula*, and made it knowne that hee would declare him his Successour, not so much for affection, as to make himselfe lamented, his Successour being more cruell and wicked then himselfe, in his Letters to the Senate hee doth no more stile *Seianus* his friend, they finde his name naked in them without addition of the Titles and Recommendations, which he was wont to giue him, as soone as the affection of a Prince takes vent it doth evaporate, and there is much a doe to keepe it alwayes in the same degree of heate.

Tiberius would haue all to fall to wracke after him, and esteemed *Priamus* happie in that hee frighted his kingdom with his life. *Dion.*

The people did reioyce that *Tiberius* did begin to affect *Caligula*, not for any affection they bore himselfe, who was of an inhumaine and violent nature and delighted in nothing but in blood, but for the honour of the memorie of *Germanicus* his Father, and the desire of the Ruine of *Seianus*

Caligula seeing a great company of Senators at his Table, burst into a great laughter, and being demanded the cause, it is said

whose

hee, for that he whose tyrannic they Apprehended, I. 2. 120.
 lies in my power to haue you strangled one after the other. *Suet.*

Tiberius hauing boyled and reboyled his project in his heart, conceiued that there was not further any danger to declare himselfe, and to forgoe the Councels dissimulation to put on these of Courage, hee sent an Edict to the Senate, forbidding any Sacrifice to bee done to any liuing man, nor to ordayne any kinde of honour to *Seianus*, nor enduring to see such honours done to the Subiect, which he held not decent for the Prince.

*Tam diu place-
 bit quam diu
 visis, Sen.*

The Superstition of the Ancient thought it an ill signe, that a Cat should goe ouerthwart.

Tiberius *Grac.* going to the Capitol, three Crowes flew about him and there he was slaine, *Pal.*

It was then that these men which were friends but of his fortune, declared themselves enemies of his designs; Friends of the time, who being come to drinke returne when the bottles are emptie, and as Thunder commonly happeneth when the sky seemeth most cleere, so *Seianus* saw himselfe inuoloped with a storme in one of the fairest dayes of his fortune, hee had many presages of his misfortune; the Theater where hee receiued the salutations of the Calends, brake a sunder, and a Cat past ouerthwart the same. Returning from the Capitoll his Guard pressing through the throng to follow and get before him, fell off from the top of the ladders from whence they cast offenders: Herevpon he consulted with his Auspicy to know what it presaged: but the birds of good lucke appeared not, hee saw nothing but a flight of Crowes, birds of ill lucke, blacke nightingals of hell which fluttered
 and

and croaked about him: and there was a ball of fire scene in the Ayre, such as had beene at the death of *Augustus* and *Germanicus*, but no body beleued that in this flourishing condition hee had beene so neare his Ruine, and for all this they forbore not to call him *Tiberius* his Companion, not onely in the Consulship but in the vniversall Empire.

Tiberius to sound their wills and affections wrote often to *Seianus* and to the Senate, one while that he was in good health, anon after that he was in the point of death, at some other times that his strength was restored, that in few daies he hoped to see them and returne to *Rome*; these fainings did profit him, for according to the joy or affliction that these newes procured; or to the hope or feare, he perceiued who depended vpon him, or who vpon *Seianus*, hee entreats the Senate also to send him one of the Consuls with some Convoy to bring him safely.

He belieued that the conspiracy was so great against him, that he should not be able to resist it, and had therefore prepared certaine vessels to take his flight withall, and caused Centinels to be placed aloft on the rockes, who by fires made signes of what they discovered. It must be that the Coniuration was very great and very ready, or *Tiberius* very fearefull & abashed, so to lay open the trouble of his spirit, for feare should neuer lodge in the heart of a Prince, who may be well lamented when they who should stand in awe of him doe deterre him.

Q 2

But

Vidimus non semel flammam ingentis palatii, que tamen in ipso cursu suo dissipata est. Vidimus circa D. Augusti excessum simile prodigium: vidimus cum de Seiano actum est: Sen.

Prudentia uisenda, oratione. P. Capricabatut mittere aliter in consiliis, qui sunt sed et solum in conspectum coram cum aliquo militari presidio perducere. Sen.

We ought not
proudly to de-
spise prodigies
this neglect
lost Alexander.
App. Perseus.
Iustin Luc. Cras-
sus. D. Hal.

But the Favorite began to bee troubled, when one told him that he saw the smoake evaporate out of the head of one of his Images, he caused it to be broken to know the cause, and from thence a great Serpent was seene to issue forth, hee despised not this prodigie, and made a Sacrifice to himselfe for hee was accustomed so to doe, and there was a cord bound about the necke of the sayd Statue.

Dion saith, that
to Accuse and
intrap Seianus,
Tiberius caused
it to be bruited
in the Senate,
that hee would
conferre vpon
him the digni-
ty of Tribune.

Nihil de aggre-
suri sunt homi-
nes si magna co-
nata magna
gramia propo-
nuntur. Liu.

Tiberius judged that the Destinies had conspired to ruine him with their vengeance, but hee continued his dissimulations, bruiting it abroad, that hee meant to raise him to the greatest Office of the Empire, but at the same time he sent away *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, with commandment to present his Letters to the Senate, to seize vpon *Seianus*, and to let *Drusus* being in prison at libertie, that hee might gather his friends together against the Common enemy, if then were any opposition.

The place of Colonell of the Guards which *Tiberius* bestowed on *Macro*, animated this execution: Princes that will bee well serued, ought alwayes to make the quality of the service to bee seene by the Recompence thereof. Hee came secretly to Rome and communicated the Cause of his arrivall to the Consul *Memmius Regulus*, and not to his Colleague, for he was *Seianus* creature; and vnto *Gracchus Laco* Knight of the Watch, he found them disposed to sacrifice this wicked man to the publike hatred.

The Consul Convoked the Senate for the next day to the Temple of *Apollo*, and caused these wordes to bee fixed to one of the pillars of the Gate:

In a good houre, Memnius Regulus, shall to morrow at breake of day keepe the Senate at the Temple of Apollo; Let the fathers Conscrip't bee there, there are matters of weight to bee handled. The penaltie of the absent is no excuse.

To giue example vnto others hee was himselfe one of the first that came, hee entred with the badges of his Dignitie, his purple Robe, twelue Sergeants marching before him making cleere the passage, at his entry hee sacrificed Wine and Honey, takes his place in the Ivorie chaire, the other Senatours doe the like and ranke themselves in their places.

Macro meetes with *Seianus* who was not as yet entred, and seeing him a little troubled that hee brought him no Letters from *Tiberius*, hee rounded him in the eare, that he had some better thing for him, I bring you the power of Tribune; this stayed him, and his friends were presently acquainted with all, and rejoyced at it, hoping that all which Fortune would bestow on the *Romaines* should passe through the hands, or from the mouth of their Master.

Macro presents his Letters and retired, causeth his Souldiers to bee assembled vnder colour of Imparting vnto them the Emperours Commandements; and by this meanes left for the Guard of the Temple the Souldiers of the

The Senate did not sit but in Temples or in sacred places.

This word was *bonum fatum*, to which, may all things prosper.

Prima luce.

Cic.

Horatius Curio templum. Virg.

Qualem quisque sortem statuamque habeat in manu posuerunt est quod cuiusque maritalem fortunam statum velle, meo ore pronunciat. Sen.

These were
 presents of
 Armes, Pikes,
 Ensignes, of
 scarfes, chaines
 & of Crownes.

The Princes
 authority is at
 the lowest ebb
 when he dares
 not declare o-
 penly vnto his
 subjects the
 cause of his dis-
 content.

This tragicke
 end of *Seianus*
 is well repre-
 sented in the
 French *Tiberi-*
us, of *Monfi-*
eur Le Maistre
 chiefe mede-
 rin of *Monfieur*.

Watch; the rest that followed *Seianus* went to the Campe and to their Ensignes, being there, hee assured them of the Emperours willingnesse to acknowledge theyr services and to gratifie them with some Present. There were not any but listened hereunto and promised to be ready in all things, hee chose a competent number of them to keepe the aduenues and the Temple of *Apelle*; this done, hee presents his Letters to the Senare and told them his charge, and with drawing himselfe leaues *Laco* there, and goes to giue order for the other parts of the Towne.

His Letters are Read and doe shew the patterne of a troubled and trembling Spirit, which dares not expresse but with halfe wordes, that which hee conceiues against the ingratitude and treacherie of his Servant; they were mingled with diuers affaires without order, the beginning with indifferent, the residue with other things of greater Importance. This was pursued with complaints of the vnmeasurable power of *Seianus*; then hee descends to other occurrents, praying the Senate to make proceffe of two Senators *Seianus* his inward friends, and in the end commands them, but faintly, to watch ouer *Seianus* his actions, there was not one word of putting him to Death, so much hee feared least the Credit he had euery where should oppose it selfe, and that in case things should not succeed according to his desire, hee might alwayes haue the libertie of expressing himselfe.

But

But as feare beleevues all that it Imagineth, *Seianus* his friends finding not in his Letter what they expected, separate themselves from him as from a place threatned to bee Thunder-strucke; when the Princes favour abandoneth a man, it is dangerous to come neere him, disgrace is Contagious.

*Aliquisq; pa-
nendo, dat vires
fama nulloque
auctore maloru,
qua frigen ti-
ment, Lucan.*

Dion obserues heere how mens mindes are variable, and sayth, that before the Letters of the Emperour were read, there was not a Senatour but did reuerence to *Seianus*, and asked him, how hee would imploy them to doe him service; but finding the minde of *Tiberius* to be changed, they changed at one instant; they that were farre from him looked awry vpon him, they that were neere him went farre off, they that thought it an honour to follow him, thought themselves dishonoured to sit neare him, and where are those men which call to minde benefittes in aduersitie, or thinke themselves bound to the miserable: great friendshippe must not bee sought for at Court, nor any moderate enmitie: this is the cause, that wise men breake with no body, ill will and hatred are but sad plaints, the fruite they beare is alwayes bitter, it yieldes neither pleasure nor profit, if it bee not that of amendment of manners, because the enemy may not lay hold vpon the life or fortune of him, or overthrow or ruine him.

*Cicero reproa-
ches the same
to Cateline, Ad-
uentu tuo ista
subsellia vacua
facta sunt. Cic.*

*They shrunke
from one guilt-
ty of high
treason.*

*Quis in aduer-
sis beneficiorum
seruat memoriã
aut quis vllum
calamitosis den-
teri putat gra-
tiam quando
fortuna non mu-
tasit dem. Vell.*

*Esquog; sapere
oportet id erit
celu accerrimu.
Cic.*

But *Seianus* should not enter to the Senate when
hee

Presumption
despisech sure-
tie.

he saw that *Macro* brought him no letters, providence which hath his eye euery where, and which is an assured buckler against fortune, failed him; he should haue retired himselfe, when he had an inckling of what *Tiberius* wrote in this letter and had beene followed by them of his faction, the rest would Iudge his power by his courage, but finding nothing to be expressely against him, he beleueed it to bee nothing but the vapours of his way-ward disposition, of his distrust and ynequalnesse: and that there was none so bold in the company, as to offend him.

Words of Cō-
mand are very
harsh to them
that are not
accustomed to
obey.

The Consul *Regulus* calleth him, he riseth not, not for pride, for hee was much humbled; but because hee was not accustomed to obey nor to bee commanded, hee calles him the first and second time, and reaching him his hand saith; *Seianus* come hither? Call you mee, replied *Seianus*: the Consul saying, yes; *Seianus* advanced himselfe, then *Laco* Captaine of the Watch goes before him, and all the Tribunes encompassse him, that hee may not scape.

Decretum vs 15
Cal. vtriusque
neis die per om-
nes annos domū
Joni sacrantur.
Tac.

The day of this memorable stroake was the Eighteenth of October, It is knowne, for that *Tiberius* ordained that the Fifteenth of the Calends of Nouember should bee solemnized at Rome, as well for the death of *Seianus*, as that of *Agrippina*; if we would remarke the yeare, it was the yeare of the foundation of Rome VII. C. LXXXV. of the Empire of *Tiberius* the Eighteenth, and from the birth of Iesus Christ, 34.

There

There was no danger to goe speedily to his tryall, nor to begin his proceſſe with his execution, for the Law of tenne dayes was not then made. All his life had beene a courſe of Intolency, pride, violence and fury.

*S. C. Affum ut
pena damnato-
rum in decem
ſemp. diem diſſa-
retur. Suet.*

Dion ſaith, that in one day hee was Arreſted, Condemned, and Executed, and by the ſhortneſſe of the time wee Iudge, of the facility of proceedings, which were at pleaſure, they gaue them ſuch delay or diſpatch as they pleaſed, they haue made the proceſſe of *Lentulus* in conſederate of *Catiline* in two dayes, that of *Clentulus* held out a long time: *Seianus* was diſpatched in one Morning; The day of ſerious affaires ended at Mid-day, what was done after dinner was as much as out of worke, and thinges agreeable and eaſie, rather then toyleſome and painefull; and the Trumpet which ſerued the Romanes for a Clocke, hauing ſtroake the houre of tenne, there was no beginning of a new Relation.

*Arreſted diſpo-
ſed of the morn-
ing in ſtudy-
ing of Philoſo-
phy, that was
ergon, of the af-
ternocne in Ba-
loquence, by
ergon.*

Memnius did not put the letters of the Emperour to Conſultation, and that deceiued *Seianus* who truſted to his friends, for if hee had done ſo, diuerſitie of opinions would marre the buſineſſe: for length of diſcourſe would looſe time, and diſpatch muſt haue beene vſed that the faction of *Seianus* might not ſtirre. But to ſhunne the blame of doing all himſelfe, hee commanded a Senatour whom hee knew to bee a good Citizen and well affectioned to *Tiberius*, to deliuer his opinion: *Dion* nameth him

R

not,

The Consul
demanding
the aduice of
the Senatour
he spake these
words.

The Magi-
strate that dis-
couers a con-
spiracie and
shewes himself
fearfull to re-
medie it, is as
culpable as the
offenders the-
selues. *Plat.*

The custodie
of illustrious
persons were
given to Magi-
strates. *Leuul.*
was in the
keeping of
Leuul. Spencer
Cethagus of Q.
Conspicua. Spa-
vilus of C.
Cesar. Coparius
of On. Terent.

The first pri-
son was built
by *Aucus Mar-*
tius or *Tarquini-*
us: *T. Liu.*

Pacius vincti
Cinem Roma-
num, scelus ver-
berari parraci-
dium necan.

Cic.

not, the same man spoake these words. The pre-
sent occasion Fathers to conscript, is of so great
consequence, that according to the resolution,
you will take the Common-wealth is either sha-
ken or confirmed, and we should bee traytors to
our Country, vngratefull to our Prince, and
vniust to our selues, if wee did not vse sinceritie
and fidelitie. *Cesar* represents vnto vs with one
hand the mischiefe, and with the other the reme-
die; the mischiefe, the coniuration of *Seianus*. The
Remedie, the imprisonment of *Seianus*; I make
no question but the euill is greater in his know-
ledge, then hee lets vs to vnderstand in his letters,
but I thinke the remedie more extreame then hee
hath considered; there is no securitie of the per-
son of *Seianus* in remitting him to a Magistrate
who would take charge of him; nor to the Guards,
he Commands them; nor in committing him to
a priuate house, hee would not remaine there any
long time; or what suretie to Caution, in that e-
state that matters are. But a Prison is onely for
slauers, there is not any for a Romane Citizen,
nor for a Consul or Senatour, and much lesse
for him who commanded the people, the Senate
and the Consuls. Our Fathers would forsake
their Sepulchers to defend this priuiledge, the
onely token of our ancient libertie, for they esteem-
ed, that to tye a Romane Citizen was a great
offence, to beate him a Crime, to kill him a
parricide; the prison is holden as a place of pu-
nishment to the Romanes, and of guard to the
barbarous.

They

They onely who knew not *Seianus*, or were not acquainted with *Caesar* may doubt but that it is necessarie to passe further, it were a great wonder if hee were innocent, but extreame mishap if hee did scape our handes, it is necessarie hee should bee made a president, and that he may not vndoe the Common-wealth, we are to bee sure of him, hee hath Courage enough to drowne himselfe in the tempest, not expecting shipwracke: our Fathers haue seene how *C. Licinius Macer*, seeing himselfe lost and the Iudges readie to deliuer their opinions, hauing got to the toppe of a house, threw himselfe downe headlong, for to haue the honour to dye not condemned but accused, hee would spare the paines to execute him, and would bee his owne Iudge.

Diogenes saith, that some drowned themselves in a tempest before the ship was sunke.

Licinius Macer sent these words to *Cicero*, *non damus se deus perire.*

Heere is questioned, the publike safetie, the safetie of the Prince, the confirmation of the State, of our alters, of our Lawes; I am ashamed to place our interest before the Commandements of *Caesar*. The safest way is the most Iust. We are to thinke of our safety first, before our liues and honours, there is no meanes to stay the milchiefe but in arresting of *Seianus*, nor any arresting of him but in prison, the person, the time and the Crime, doe oblige you to assure your selues of him, and chase away the euill by the euill it selfe, *Seianus* hath raised him selfe vpon the Ruines of the State, the State must raise it selfe vpon the ruines of *Seianus*.

Val. Aliena crudelitate procuratoris ratione suscipere. *Sen.*

In deliberations we should rather incline to that course which is safe, the shar which is decent or profitable. *Dion. Hal.*

The Senate was very slacke in enduring so much, *Cæsar* conferres a great fauour vpon the people of *Rome*, to deliuer them from this Tyranny, let vs not loose the glorie to haue seconded his piety, there will be more honour in following of *Seianus* into prison, then there was to serue him while he was at liberty; if hee be innocent, the Gods are not

Præidia Confilia incerto sunt.

Cui genua flexerant ac vi Deo sacrificauerunt.

Dio.

Pallio coccinea ad rasiu occluserat caput. Petto.

Notwithstanding any amazement which seized vpon the Company, this resolution was Hardy, and this aduice was followed, every one thinking it reasonable to execute, not to examine the will of *Cæsar*; they leade him to prison, and would trust none but themselues in the euent of this Conduct, to the end hee may not escape nor be rescued, so the very same Senators who accompanied him to the Senate, did conduct him to prison, they which sacrificed vnto him as to their God, which kneeled downe to adore him, did skoffe at him seeing him draggd from the Temple to the Iayle, from supream honour, to extreame ignomy.

There were some so transported with rage against him, that seeing him let fall a piece of his Robe vpon his eyes, wherewith hee couered his head, (for the Romanes wore no cappes but in the warre or being sicke, nor no hats, but in a journey) they tooke it away from him, stripping him, to doe him the greater affront, and strooke him ouer the face with their fists.

The people laughed at his fall, detested his life,

life, reproached his insolence, Cryed out at the thiefe, and if they were not hindered, hee had not come whole to the prison, for they would drag him instantly to the *Sestercium*, the most infamous place that was in *Rome*, and whether the bodyes of the Slaues were throwne, and Iudging that he was not carried to prison, to let him liue: they ranne to his Statues, they are at one instant broken downe, they may be scene dragged with Ropes into the fire to bee moulten, with the peeces of the head which was adored, as the second of the world: and which made the Senate to quake, they were converted into small implements for kitching vses.

There was so small an Interuall betweene his exaltation, and his fall; that hee was no sooner threatned then stricke. And seeing at his comming forth what was done to his Images; he concluded, that the originall would bee as ill handled, and it was his greatest trouble that hee had not bin prepared long agoe for this misfortune. An ordinarie fault in those which are raised to high dignities, who are men wise till after the blowe, and who hauing the meanes to come downe at their ease, stay still till they bee thrust headlong.

After that *Seianus* passed the wicker, the Consul to loose no time returned not to the Temple of *Apollo*, but he entred the Temple of *Concord* which was neere, to make the proceffe of the Prisoner; for we should doe wrong to the reputation of the great Iustice of the

For joy *Dion* makes a notable obseruation vpon humane inconstancie.

*Lex facie toto or
be secunda sunt
vicoli pelues
sartago pasella,
Iuuen.*

Dion obserues that *Seianus* saw his Statues bearen downe, and by that judged what would follow.

We must prepare betimes for a fall, and rather goe out then stay to be put out.

Formes are ne-
cessarie.

*Accusatio criminis
desideras, rem
ut definiat, homi-
nem ut notet,
argumento pro-
bet, esse confir-
met. Cic.*

*Populus Romi
circum subsella
coram facit.*

Cic.
*Antigenus be-
ing interated
to adjudge a
processe priuat-
ly, he answered,
it will doe
better in the
pallace if wee
would doe no-
thing iniustly.*

P.
*Timor perturbat,
suspensus,
incertusq; vul-
tus, crebra colo-
ris mutatio qua
fuerunt antea
suspitiosa aperta
atq; manifesta
faciunt. Cic.*

Sometimes the
Senate repor-
teth to the
Prince what
they haue de-
creed.

Senate, if we did belicue that it forgot any forme in any affaire so important, where it was necessarie that the Authoritie of Iustice should cover the defects, which may be in the proceeding for to haue comenced the proces by Imprisonment.

The accusers, the witnesses, & the accomplices were heard in full Senate: for the Instruction was publike & the people was as in a round, about the chaires of the Iudges, which caused the authority to be greater; for the Maicesty of the Senate was in sight of all, there was nothing to couer it but the heauens, there was more sincerity vsed; for as many eyes, so many Iudges, and there was more example, all passed with order & discipline.

There is no question to be made, but that he had some excellēt Orator assigned him, more for the Ceremony of his defence then for any opinion of his Innocency, and it is certaine that he was commanded to do his endeaour; for the more stoutly he was defended, the more glorious should be the triumph of truth; & therevpon the Iudges obserued the countenance of the accused, and the doubts of his Inuention were often cleared by the trouble of his countenance, the aspect of which very often holds the place of speech.

Macro spoke the word to the Consul, it was *Tiberius* will he should die, there needed no other comandement, nor to send him the aduice of the Senate it was necessarie for the state, and though hee had not entred culpable to the prison, his quality permitted not he should depart innocent, the Iudges cannot do amisse when they o-
bey

bey the commandment of the Prince who viewes his affaires with another eye, and with another affection then his Officers.

The Iudges had taken an oath to Iudge according to their conscience. Neither the Consuls nor the *Prætor* gave their vote at all, but recollected those of the others. The number of the Senators

was great. *Cicero* reckoned 75. against *Piso*. It was diminished vnder the Emperors and by the Edict of *Augustus*, there needed but 40. to frame a Sentence: They deliuered their opinions eyther by voyce or by writing in a little Table which they kept in a *Boxe*, or by silence and gesture; as at this day by the Hat or Cap, a signe of consent, or by passing away those of one side and drawing themselves together against the aduerse partie, this they called to goe on one foote. Here there was no other but one voyce, *Let Scianus dye, let his Posterity dye, let his memory dye, and his goods be confiscate.*

The Senators were so provoked, that it is certain, that those who knew the advantage they had above others, as *Albucius* in speaking loude, remained altogether mute to gaine the fauour of the Prince; especially those who had most depended on the will of *Scianus*, and doubted not a whit but that which they spake amongst the people that had nothing to loose, they might speake amongst the Senators, who esteemed them for lost who were now his friends.

Those were the most sharpe, and said, that if *Cæsar* had Clemency hee ought to reserve it for men, not to vse it towards Monsters.

Damnaturum In-
rant nihil se
precibus dare.
Sen. P.

An expellem du-
ce septuaginta
quinque tabella
diripiant. Cic.

Sometimes in
notorious
crimes they
cried, *Hosia,*
Hosia.

Albucius in al-
tercatione vires
suas nouerat.
Sen. P.

Numquid si quid
mibi creditur ama-
ni hunc hominem.
Iuven.

Scianus his
friends shewed
themselves most
passionate a-
gainst him.

If

If the Senate had not beene zealous to conserue the glory of his gentlenesse, in detestation of horrible punishments, they had caused him to vndergoe that of Paricides, they had seared vpp his fundament, they had put shooes with hot burning Coales vpon his feete, or had sowed him in a sacke with a Dog, a Cocke, an Ape, and a Viper, wicked living Creatures, companions of a wicked man; afterwards they would haue sent him to the river in a Waggon drawne with two blacke Oxen, for a note of the enormity and foulnesse of the Crime.

But there was neuer any Common-wealth more curious then that of the *Romanes*, to conserue the ancient glory of gentlenes and faire carriage. *Metellus Suffetius* for his Treason was drawne in pieces by foure Horses. All the people turned away their eyes from such a horror. This was the first and the last punishment of that severitie, which had made the Iudges forget, that the lawes and punishments had beene ordained, not for Tygers or for ravenous Beares, but for men.

We must represent this execution of the Iudgement against *Scianus*, in like sort as the other, but that this was done with more pompe, through the occasion and for example sake, and with more diligence and more Guards for securitie, and that more of the Magistrates were present at it. Heere may be found, that summarily which wee might seeke for in diuers places, and which is reported diuersly and confusedly.

In alijs gloriari
habet nulli genti-
um placuisse po-
tuit. T. Liu.

Supplicium ex-
emplum
memoria legem
Romanorum
T. Liu.

In his Iudge-
ment it was
observed;
Quo referente
quo decernente
ex quo primum
assensiente.

The Iudgement being signed by him who had made relation of the Acts and the Letters of the Emperour, by him who had first opened the opinion which was pursued, and by the Consull who decreed that which was resolved; they sent to finde out an Executioner, who by the law of the Censors might not dwell within the Citie.

Carnifex non modo foro sed etiam cœlo hoc ac spiritus prohibetur. Cic.

The Trumpet assembled together the people, it sounded before the gates of the Temples, before the house of the condemned person, in the publike places. The Consull, or the Prætor mounted vpon his throne, and disrobed himselfe of his Purple garment, or put it on backwards, or tooke a blacke one, as in a sad and sorrowfull accident; yet notwithstanding without shewing in his countenance either meagrenesse or choller, but retaining the decency and gravity of the Law, which is neuer angry with any man.

Periculis inquit Magistratus. Sen.

Lex non irascitur sed conatuit. Sen.

The condemned person is brought forth, the Officers command silence, the Consull pronounceth the Iudgement, which is written in the little Table, and turning himselfe towards the Executioner, said to him, Doe according to the Law, or more plainly, Goe on. Hee abstained from sorrowfull speeches; kill him, binde him, hang him, and was no more moved, then if hee had commanded one of his servants to tread vpon a Scorpion or a Worme.

Fit a Præcone silentium. Sen.

Quibus animaduertere in damnatos necesse est, non dicunt occide, non morere, sed lege age.

Cruelitate imperij verbo mitiore subducunt. Sen.

The Executioner tyed his hands behinde his back, the Trumpets sounded whilst he prepared the punishment, and that the condemned person disposed himselfe to death. The time was not left altogether at his discretion: *Nero* neuer allowed but one houre for a man to make himselfe fit to receiue the deadly

Noxio post terga ligantur manus. Sen.

*Adhibentur
legibus ver-
ba, canitur ex
altera parte
claqueum Sen-*
 Stroake. As at Funerals, there is to be Instru-
 ments which sound with sad and mournfull tunes,
 with Cornets for the great ones, or with Flutes for
 the meener sort, and this they call a Harmony, in
 like manner at Executions, the Trumpets sounded
 the battaile, as the alarme, or the *homiesella*, to goe
 to death.

*Quidam de
latores
Quibus iudi-
cis? quo te-
ste probavit?
Nihil horum
verbosa de
grandis Epi-
stola venit
A Capris bene
habet nil plus
interrogat
Iures*
 During this, the people being astonished at a Iudge-
 ment so soone done, demanded the cause, one asketh
 for what crime is hee condemned? who is his accu-
 ser, what complices, what witnesses? nothing of all
 this, saith another. A great and a long letter is come
 from *Caprea* saith a third, that is enough, wee must
 know no more, all goes well.

*Supplicium
morte maio-
rum. Tac*
 The forme is not expressed other then that which
Dion speaketh, and the word which he useth, signifi-
 eth that hee was condemned, or executed. This is
 certaine, that they found out no new manner of pu-
 nishment for him. When any one was condemned
 to punishment, according to the manner of the an-
 cients, that was to banishment, the ciuill death of a
 Roman Citizen. The Gallowes, the Impalement, the
 Crosse, the casting to Beasts, *la hart*: the beheading
 were to slaves and men of no account. It was a long
 time agoe said *Petrus Thraseus* to *Nero* since any man
 spake at *Rome* of the Hangman, or of strangling, the
 Lawes haue ordained punishments which punish the
 crimes without infamy for the times, without cruel-
 ty for the Iudges. Traitors, Rebels, enemies of the
 Commonwealth take their leape from the *Turpetus*
 Roche. *Maximus* was throwne downe headlong
 from a great height upon the Rocks, and hee had as

many punishment, and *Tiberius* used it. After hee had caused *Agrippina* to be put to death at *Pandara*, hee vaunted that he had done her the fauour to giue command that she should not be strangled, and desired that the Senate would thank him.

His three poore children were carried to prison, his Daughter promised to the Sonne of *Claudius* was deflowered at the foot of the Gallowes by the Hangman, because it was not permitted to put to execution one that was a Virgin. *Dion* saith that shee was flaine by the people. *Tacitus* beleueed that his Sonne knew what he would doe, and the fortune which he ranne. Hee had a Daughter so yong and of so little knowledge, that shee ceased not still to say; *What haue I done? whether will they carry mee? who will pardon me? I will doe so no more, there needes nothing but rods to make me more wise.*

Puella adeo nescia vt crebro interrogaret quod ob delictum? quo traheretur? neque facturam vitra & posse se puerili verberemoneri. Tac.

*The Gemonian staires in the 13 Region of Rome, which was the hill *Auentin*.*

Quo die illum Senatus duxerat populus in frusta diuisit. Sen.

Quo die illum Senatus duxerat populus in frusta diuisit. Sen.

The Hangman tooke these two by the throat and strangled them. The bodies of them so flaine, were tyed to the *Gemonian* steppes, which bare that name either of the Inuentor, or of the groanes which were heard there. They were like the Pilleries, the shew place of the executions, where they fasten the Portraits and Statues of the condemned persons. The Conciery, the Court where they pleaded, the Treasury, where they registred the Arrests, were built neere together, the stories in the same place, and at the foot thereof *Tyber*, where they cast in headlong the bodie.

Seneca and *Dion* doe not agree in this: the one saith, that they drew his body about three whole dayes; and the other saith, that the same day that the

Senate had accompanied him to the Senate, the same day the people cut him in peeces, and that of a person in whom the gods and men had all that which could be great and precious; there remained nothing for the Hangman, that he could catch hold on with his hooke, and draw it into Tyber. To accord them: I suppose that after he was executed, they set him on the staires purposely that the people might see him, and that in this fury they might draw him from thence at that instant, and hauing haled him vpon the the banke of the River, might cut him in peeces, and it might be in 14. parts, so many Regions as the Citie had, and that these peeces were drawne three whole dayes through the streets.

All kinds of outrages were done to this miserable body; some through inhumanity, others through reuenge, most for example, and all to the end it might not be beleued that either they had loued or known him. *Inuennall* relateth the discourse which then was at Rome, for euery one gaue the full careere to his Iudgement. Behold here the Prose of those Verfes.

I conceiue that manie shall dye: no man needes doubt thereof; the furnace wherein they are to bee cast is great enough. I met the other day my poore Brutidius neere the Temple of Mars, he was very pale and astonished; I doubt not but if Alax were called he would slay him with his owne hand. But to the end that wee may not be taken to be friends of Scianus, and that wee perish without defence, let us goe quickly running to that body whilst it is at the banke of Tyber, and cry out, thus we tread vnder our feet the enemy of Caesar.

Ex eo nihil
Interfuit quod
Carnifex tra-
heret, Sen.

Perituros au-
dio multos.
Nil dubium
magna est for-
nacula.
Dum lacet in
ripa calcamus
Caesaris ho-
stem, &c.

He that is a forerunner, let him renounce, and quit his Matter, let him take him by the neck and stop his throat, to draw him trembling before the Commissioners. This is the way to save himselfe and also to be rewarded.

Afterwards the people in secret had this discourse of Seianus. See then who will follow thee, and who will Court thee as Seianus did: have so much wealth as hee dispose of Dignities, give the Chaires of Iury command the Armies, be esteemed the Governour of the Prince, to performe these affaires during that time he was in the freight Grotte of Caprea, with a Troope of Chaldeans and of Astrologians?

Wouldst thou have command over the troopes which carries the Pile or the Iavelin with three heads? Wouldst thou command over the Cavalry, over these brave Troopes which wait at the Pallace to guard the

Principis Augusta Caprea-
rum in rupe
sedentis,

Cum grege
Canis.

Quasi sunt
oculare que
quam possit
volunt.

Ve rebus letis
par sit mensu-

ra malorum.
An Fidei

rum Gabi-
num, est

potestas.
Et de mensura

visu dicitur.
Numerosa pa-

rahit. Exce-

laturis tabu-

lata, vade al-

tior efficit.
Sūmas sumpe-

Prince? Why desirest thou not this? Those who doe not de-

sire to kill any person, desire yet the power to doe it.

Every one sees the honour and the riches, which are yet

notwithstanding such, that the measure of nails that

follow them equals those of the contentments that they

bring.

Dost thou love rather to carry the garments of Seianus, whom thou sawest drawne through the streets, then

to be Ruler of the Fidenates or the Gabii, or to be

Edile at Vlubra, which is almost uninhabited, and Judge

of Measures, and cause them to be broken, which are now

intire? Then must needs thou confesse, that Seianus ne-

ver knew what he sought to have desired. For in following

after those great honours, and chiefe great riches, he did

no other then prepare a Scaffold upon a high Tower, in

fall downe, and precipitate himselfe from the greater height. Who turned Crassus and Pompey offside downe? and who was he that turned the old Romans, and brought them to endure the whip like slaves? High places which are monuments, and by causing so deadly and great desires, which are heard by the malignant spirits become the ruine of them that make them.

Magna; m-
minibusvota
exaudita m-
lignis. In.

Few Tyrants have come quietly to the same end of Ceres, and to a naturall death; their death hath seldom beene dry, and blood hath not beene spared to temper with it.

Seneca saw this Execution, and yet nevertheless hath written nothing of it, although he were of an age that he might well have observed it: for he was at Rome fifteen yeres before the death of Augustus. He was amazed that of the body of so great and so mighty a man; there remained nothing for Sepulture.

If an ouergreat Ioy slew a Mother, what ought an extreame sorrow to doe? *Apicata* was assailed with an incredible sorrow when shee saw her children at the Gibbets foot. *Cratesicles* the Mother of *Chiron* King of *Sparta*, whose head *Ptolomee* caused to be cut off, and his body fastned to the Crosse, seeing his children slaine before her eyes, said, *Alas! my children, whether are you going?* *Apicata* said to these innocents which shee saw vpon this infamous place, *Poor children, where are you?* In this extremity of sorrow shee retired her selfe to her house, where shee wrote a Discourse of the death of *Drusus*, sent it to *Tiberius*, and that being done, shee slew her selfe.

Si ad mortem
agere magno
magnum, esse
dum, quid
magnus dolor
Sen-
Cratesicles
had desired
that they
would put her
to death be-
fore her chil-
dren, but she
was contrary
shee wrote
for her son
Plutarch
relation, and
it is the same
She

She

Ordo sceleris
per Apicam
Sciani prodi-
tus tormentis
Eudemi ac
Lygdi patefa-
ctus est. Tac.

Error de-
testis occidi-
iussu, ne divul-
garet iniuri-
am. Suet.

Mihi vita
tanti non est,
ut armis te-
gendus sit. Tac.

Tandem faci-
nora & flagi-
tia in suppli-
cium veruntur.
T. c.
Ut corpora
verberibus
itam scuitia
ac libidine
Tyrannorum
animus dila-
ceratur. Tac.

She had not so long forborne to reueale this enormous offence, if the pitie of her children had not restrained her, for she knew well, that in crimes of treason, they beare the punishment of the Father. She accused *Scianus*, *Liulla*, *Lygdon* and *Eudemus*. They being put to the torture, confessed all. *Tiberius* caused many to be tormented, to know who were the complices. It was told him that a man of *Rhodes* was arrived, and not remembering what it was his hoste had bad him doe, he caused him presently to be put to the racke, and haying discovered the error, commanded that he should be flaine, to the end hee should not discover the wrong he had receiued. This was to conserue the reputation of a iust Prince by a notorious iniustice.

The death of *Scianus* gaue much confidence and security to *Tiberius*: and when hee was moued to choose twenty Senators neere about him armed, he answered, That his life was not so deere, that hee would submit it to be conserued no way but by arms. But he left not for all that his vicious and vnbrideled manners, and not killing his vices before his owne death, he enioyed not that content to see his enemies dye before him. Neuerthelesse hee felt the remorse of conscience so violent, that hee protested to the Senate, that he suffered death daily. Hee could not naturally endure to be subiect to the iudgement of men, but he remained conuicted in his conscience, that accused, condemned, and executed him. Whereupon one wise man said who lived in those times, That if the hearts of Tyrants might be sene, they would appeare more vicious through voluptuousnesse

ness then the bodies of those they had slain by their cruelty would doe with their wounds.

Of all his outrages the most pernicious was the death of that Architect, who so handsomely rebuilt and repaired the Portall of *Rome*, which was fallen downe; and who hauing presented him a Glasse, brake it, and recollecting the peeces, made it vp againe in the same place; hauing discovered the Art that this materiall, the last worke of the fire, might be made obedient and plyable to the hammer. *Pliny* saith that hee abolished it, to the end that Gold, Silver, and Brasse might not be lesse prized. What an ornament to the world would this haue beene, if of an hearbe which hath neither beauty nor smell, which is good in the taste neither of men nor beasts, one could haue made a materiall hard, solid and transparent?

An Inuention neuertheless that precedent ages haue beene ignorant of, and that the present admired, and that ours will alwayes bemoane: for wee haue not many men that are passionate not to permit that which may profit posterity, to remaine long hidden. *Tiberius* spared nothing in his excessive voluptuous and superfluous expences. Hee entertained with the sweatings and labours of the people an infinite number of persons, not onely vnprofitable but hurtfull to the Common wealth, and put them to death whose industry might bring ornament and profit. O what a disorder both of the times and men! They repine at the recompence of an admirable Art, and *Seianus* sels one of his Eunuches for 3500. sesterces. But this was during the miseries of

T

this

Ferunt Tiberio Principe excogitatum vitri compertum marmoreum ut flexibile esset et in quocumque sensu obediens ut riget, arguet, aurum, metallum preterea haerentibus.

Priscis temporibus summa secretum inter homines, ne quis profuturum seculis diu latent. Petr.

Malus Imperator, qui viscentibus praeuincialibus hominibus necessarios Reip. vires alit. Lamp.

this raigne, and when no man was permitted to re-
proue these profusions.

Tiberius rule was yet more terrible and cruell after
Seianus then it had beene before. He would not ad-
mit the people by his death to repaire those ils which
he had done in his life.

The most a-
greable Tri-
bute was the
20. which they
tooke of inhe-
ritance. De le-
gatorum the
kindred and
poor excepted.

Augustus had ordained a Military Treasury, which
he kept full with three sorts of tributes, as with three
liuing Springs, with the twentieth part of Inheritan-
ces, the fine and twentieth part of the Sale of Slaues,
and the hundreth part of all that which was Traf-
ficked for.

Extraneis fa-
cile domesticis
grauis Plin.

Tiberius hauing reduced the Realme of *Cappado-
cia* to a Prouince, supposed that by the increase of
this reueneue the people might be so much the more
eased, and therefore instead of the hundreth part hee
ordained that they should pay but the two hundreth
part. But after the death of *Seianus*, as if repen-
ting himselfe of this fauour, hee raised it to the hun-
dreth part againe. The necessity of his affaires ex-
cused him, that could not endure that the Tributes
might be touched: this is a fury which taketh the
State by the throat, if it be not appeased. They which
are destinated to this charge, ought to make the
people capable of this truth; *If you will peaceably
possesse your particular estates, you must needes succour
the publike necessities.* When *Anthony* the Tri-
umuir was sent into *Asia* to fetch succours from
thence, hee represented no other reason then this
necessity.

Da operam, vt
omnes intelli-
gant si salui
esse velint ne-
cessitati esse mo-
parendum. Cic.
M. Anthony
in Asia, after
the battaile of
Phillippi.
So Themisto-
cles demand-
ing money

*To the end (saith hee) that you be not drinen from
your Townes and your Lands, you must needes part with
money,*

money for the entertainment of the Souldiers. They demand no more then you would give them freely. You have given in two yeeres to Cassius and Brutus our enemies, the tributes of tenne yeeres. Wee neede onely this to despatch our affaires, provided that you give it at once. Hee raised hereby 200000 talents, which was 20000. a yeere, which came to twelve Millions.

The State if it be weake cannot be maintained in Peace, nor fortified without Armes; Armes cannot be cotertained without money, and money comes not but by Tributes. But there must be a moderation, and the Prince imitating *Tiberius* must sheere his Sheepe without scarrifying them, and must render the dispensation chaste, sincere and pure, as of the blood of sweaters, and of the teares of the people, for profitable, necessary, and glorious expences, not for profusions, which bring neither contentment nor reputation.

Happy is the Prince that findeth honest men in whom to repose the care of his Exchequer, whercon depends the honour of his Designes, the Majesty of his Crowne, and the tranquillity of his Estate: for these are the sinewes that give motion, & the veines that preserve life; and as by the resolution or rettyring of the sinewes the Naturall body is sometimes deprived of motion and sence; so the politicke without money cannot be moved nor sustained: in one word, with Treasure may every thing be wrought and brought to an end. He that hath the last Crowne hath the last triumph: They are sacred, the custody thereof is given to *Saturne*, or within his Temple.

T 2

Cesar

of the Audri-
ans, told them
that he was
accompanied
with two
Goddesses,
Perswasion,
& Constraint.
Plut.

By the quality
of the Tribute
one may judge
of the power
of the ruler.
Nec quies
tuum sine ar-
mis, nec arma
sine stipendijs,
nec stipendia
sine Tributis
haberi quænt
Tac.
Malo condere
pecus quam
deglubere.
Tib.

Tunc conditus
imo Brutus
templo multis
intactus ab
annis Romani
census populi.
Lucan.

Caesar had not knowne how to ruine the liberty, had hee not begun by Sacriledge, despoyling the Treasure of the Commonwealth, which was ransacked together of all the spoyles of the East, and of that which the *Patricians*, the *Senators*, the *Curies*, and the *Pompeys* had acquired by their victories. One may draw the first remarkable note of the desolation of an Estate from the vniust and irregular administration of the Treasures.

It is not enough that those who haue the government thereof, haue their eyes open to see that the expence exceedeth not the receipt: the State hath great interest that the means of particular persons, may be managed without excess, with order and modesty, as they ought to be acquired, without base dealing. The disorders which may be obserued in Feasting, in Buildings, in the delights and superfluities of private houses are symptomes of an estate not onely sicke but dying. Troubles and seditions for the most part are not fomented but by the desperate-ness of forlorne people, and who haue nothing to loose of this quality were those that entred into the conspiracie of *Catiline*. Great and excessive disorders during the raigne of *Tiberius*, but such as were descended from false off, for hee would to say that the *Romans* had learn'd to expend their owne substance from the Ciuill warres, and that of others from strangers. It was a wonder that hauing provided for so many other excesses hee would not correct the luxury, nor the dissoluteness which were onerous by reason of the disesteeming of the Sumptuary Lawes. This it may be hapned, because he would not begin the

Hoc in Rep.
seminarium
Catilinarium.

the example of the reformation in his owne House, which surfeited with excesses, or that disorderliness was false into a custome and discipline; or that hee would not pull vpon himselfe vnprofitably and without effect the publike hatred. His greatest reason was that hee would not expose his commands to disesteem, nor open the veine before he had a swathing-band ready to stay the blood.

These excellent words which hee spake to the Senate of this subiect ought to be represented to Kings euer when they make Ordinances, whereof the effects are doubtfull and difficult. *Prince ought rather to dissemble an immoderate disorder, and which hath a great many followers or supporters, then to put his authority in hazard, and make his want of power be knowne publicly, and show there be things which he cannot remedy.*

After the execution of *Sejanus*, the Senate commanded that the *Statue of Liberty* should be erected in the publike place, and that yeerely vpon the same day on which *Sejanus* was slain, a Combat on horse backe should be represented, and that diuers kinds of liuing Creatures should be slaine; a thing that neuer was done before. It was ordained also that immoderate honours should be giuen to no man, and that none should swear by any other name then that of the Emperour.

All *Sejanus* his friends ranne the like fortune with him, and receiued that which they looked for. The Prisons were filled, some condemned to death, others banished, all bereaued of their places of Charge. The Cities resembled a field where nought else was to be

Non sum of-
fensionum
avidus, graues
pro Rep. susci-
pio, inanis
irritas iura
deprecor; Tac.

Omitenda
potius praes-
idia & adu-
vita, quam
hoc adsequi
palam fas
quibus seque-
reparet sumus.
Tac.

Quidam
et ex
pau. vultu
bus, vultu
miserant
super
admirat.
ratio in
anchura

scene but bodies dismembred, or Rauens that dismembred them.

Lacue immensa strages,
omnis sexus,
omnia etas,
illustres, ignobiles, Tac.

Femine quia occupanda
reip. argui non poterant ob lacrymas incusabantur.
Tac.

Interciderat sortis humane
commercium,
ut metus, quantum;
Leuitie glicebatur
miseratio arcebatur, Tac.

Aufus est amplecti amicitiam
quam ceteris falso exuerant. Tac.

Minus expectare agnoscere
crimen quam punire. Tac.
There were 7 of them in all, in the City, and 3 in other garrisons.

Tiberius accustomed himselfe in this manner to executions, that he caused all those to be put to death which were in the prisons accused to haue any intelligence with *Seianus*: they cast forth vpon the pavement a great number of dead men of all ages & conditions, illustrious, noble, base, no man being permitted to stay to behold them, nor to withdraw then selues to bemoane them; for both the one and the other was a crime. *Fidia* was punished by death for that she had lamented *Geminus* her Sonne; and because they could not accuse women for attempting against the State, their reares were criminall.

They iudged of griefe by the countenance, and of passion by the vehemency of the griefe, in such manner, that the bodies which the Riuer *Tyber* had cast vp vpon her banks remained vnburi'd; so much had feare broken the commerce betweene nature and compassion.

There was none which disclaimed not the friendship of *Seianus*. Onely one Roman Knight *Marcus Terentius* being accused to be his friend, auowed it freely then when others seemed to haue renounced him. He spake in this manner before the Senate.

It may be I might doe better for my fortune to deny the crime whereof I am accused, then to confesse it: But what soeuer shall happen I will not say but I was *Seianus* his friend, that I desired to be so, and did reioyce that I was pessed of his loue. I saw that he was his Fathers companion in the command of the Pretorian Cohorts, and that at one and the same time he managed the affaires of the Cite

tie and of the Warres. That they that were neere him in friendship were powerfull in the Emperors loue, and all others in continuall feare & in the estate of accused persons.

I will not here alledge any one for example, but I will with the alone perill of my life descend all such as haue had no part in these his last designs: For we did not our service to Seianus of Vulsine; but we followed the party of the House of Claudius, whereof by alliance he had made himselfe the chiefe. We did honour (Cæsar) your Son-in-Law, your companion in the Consulat, and who exercised your function in the Common wealth.

It belongs not to us to iudge what he should be, or for what cause you raise one man above all others. The gods haue given you the Soueraigne disposition of things, and there remaines onely for vs the glory of obedience: we consider what we see, to whom you giue riches and honor, and who may most hurt vs or profit vs, and none can deny but all this was in Seianus.

It is not lawfull to sound the depth of the Princes intentions, nor that which he prepareth in secret, that is doubtfull, and therefore we cannot arrive to it. Consider not the last day of Seianus, but the sixteene yeeres of his prosperity, in those dayes we did honour vnto Satrius and Pomponius his Free-men, and it was a great matter to be knowne of his Seruants and of his Porter. What then? Shall we make no difference betweene those which haue serued Seianus as Seruants to the Emperour, and such as haue followed him in his designs against the Emperour?

It is necessary that this distinction should be reduced vnto the iust bounds thereof, so the end they may punish the treasons and conspiracies against the State, and the plotting of the Emperors death; but for the friendship and

Cunctos qui nouissimi consilij expertes fuimus, vnius discrimine defendam. Tac.

Non est nostrum æstimare quem super ceteros et quibus de causis extollas.

Tibi summum iudicium dedere, nobis obsequij gloria relicta est. Tac.

Abditos Principis sensus & si quid occultius patat exquirere inlicitum. Tac.

Infidie in Rempublicam consilia exaduersum Imperatorem puniantur, de amicitia & officijs idem ex te Cæsar et nos absolueris. Tac.

the.

the respect we have had of him, one and the same reason
O Caesar may well excuse both you and us.

The boldnesse and constancy of this discourse, which had reference to all that other men could think, was of so great force, that those which had beene accused of being friends to *Seianus*, were distinguished from his complices, and *Tiberius* was praised for having confirmed the Decree of the Senate touching the Innocency of *Terentius*, who had not loved his friend to hate him afterwards or disavowe him.

Lentulus Getulicus went yet another way then *Porro*. *Abudius Rufus* accused him to have treated about the marriage of his Daughter with *Seianus* his Sonne: this man was in great credit and authority in *Albany*, by reason of his sweetnesse and modesty. He spake a farre off, and on Horsebacke, and neere the Armies. *Tiberius* therefore caused his accuser to be banished, and condemned. An Act of the wisdom of a Princee never to threaten him that is secure from not being hurt by his blowes.

Getulicus was aduertised thereof, and knowing the humour of *Tiberius*, who was fast to his opinion, retired not himselfe easily, and according to the temper of his choler halted or fore slowed his reuenge, gaue him to vnderstand that he was in such estate, that hee would not forget his own safety for that of anothers, and sent him this Letter alike proud and bold.

The alliance of which (O Caesar) I haue treated with *Seianus*, is not altogether of my motion, but by your Counsaile. It may be I haue beene deceived after you, but one and the same fault ought not to be the discharge of the one and the ruine of the other. My faith hath beene en-
tire

Getulicus
efficit clementie
modum
seueritate mi-
rum amorem
adfectus Tac.

Boldnesse
proceedes not
abstines from
courage, but
from place &
from the cause
Idem error
Principis sine
fraude, alijs
astitio non est
habenda. Tac.

tire hitherto, and shall not change if they doe not raise
some party against me, and whosoever shall come to suc-
ceede in my charge, I shall receive him as one who hath
attempted upon my life. Let vs agree by way of treaty,
let the Empire remaine to you, to me my Government.

Successorem
non aliter
quam inditi-
um mortis
accepturum.
Tac.

Nothing but the distance of place excused, the in-
civility of this Letter. He alone of *Sejanus* his friends
after *Terentius* saved himselfe. *Tiberius* held downe
his head, and shrunke vp his sholders, for his mat-
ters were sustained more by reputation then by pow-
er. His decayed old age retrenched his hopes, and
publike hatred increased his distrusts.

Princeps ca-
terarum rerum
potiatur ipse
prouinciam
retineam. Tac.
Publico odio
& extrema
aetate res prin-
cipis stant
magis fama
quam vi. Tac.

Mamercus Scaurus was one of *Sejanus* his friends,
but his friendship had not so much power to ruine
him as the hatred of *Adrian*, who was no lesse stirpe
then the other in ruining his enemies, but hee went
about it more cunningly and secretly. He was wor-
thy of the friendship of *Sejanus* for the conformity of
his humours to his pleasures, which *Seneca* reporteth
to be so beastly, that the onely thinking of them, sul-
lies the Spirit, he carried not till he was condemned,
but beleueed *Sextia* his wife, who perswaded him to
kill himselfe.

Haud minus
validum ad
exitia Macro-
nis edium qui
easdem artes
occultius ex-
ercebat. Tac.

P. Vitellius who had so constantly vpheld the cause
of *Germanicus* against *Piso*, was accused to haue offe-
red to *Sejanus* the monies belonging to the Com-
monwealth, for hee was one of the Officers of the
Treasury. His Brothers answered for him, but per-
ceiuing that his processe hung long, he grew weary
with languishing betweene hope and feare, and ope-
ned a veine with a launcer. His friends stanchd the
blood and bound vp that Spirit which was going

P. Vitellius
aerarij prae-
fectus milita-
rem pecuniā
rebus novis
obmulerat.
Tac.

out,

out, loathing to lodge in a body which being most ready to dye, stayed not it selfe but with much griefe and sorrow.

In custodia
morbo perijt,
Suet.

Dum fortu-
nam aduer-
sam æquis to-
lerat, Tiberio
superstes fuit.
Tac.

Honoribus
functus es?
Numquid aut
tam magnis
aut tam uni-
uersis quam
Seianus? Sen.

Diu multumq;
singulis quid
posset osten-
dit. Sen.

Clausam mari
aut fluminibus
longiquis
imperium.
Tac.

Pomponius was sicke in the same Hospitall where the rest were, but his patience made him suruiue. *Tiberius* would haue him put to death because *Nelius Gallus* was thrown into his Garden the same day that *Seianus* was drawne through the streets.

Tiberius lamented *Seianus* not for losse of him, but for his owne interest; for as long as he liued, whatsoeuer he did that was vniust or cruell, hee cast all the blame vpon him, and after his death there was none tooke part with him in the publike hatred.

By so much as the prosperity of *Seianus* had beene admired, by so much his fall ministred terror and astonishment. Neuer any man before him had receiued more great, more vniuersall, more vnlooked for honours; and all the fauours and dignities which all the Kings of *Europe* could heape together to raise a man, could not be paralleld with these here. He made his power be knowne to all, and a long time and euery where. For sixteene yeeres space hee possessed the soueraigne power of an Empire that commanded ouer all the world, and which first had taken for its limits the rising and the setting of the Sunne. *Euphrates* shut vp the frontiers thereof towards the East; the Mont *Atlas*, the *Cataracts* of *Nile*, and the Deserts of *Africke* towards the South; the Ocean Sea towards the West and *Danubius* towards the North; so that whethersoeuer the Sunne went, thither went also his commands. What glory euer mounted more high, or descended more low?

Who.

Whosoever shall behold a high Mountaine peering over a great Valley to be made leuell, to be digged down & swallowed vp in an instant of time, will he not be astonished? yet this is not more strange then to see these great *Calossi* to be cast downe in a moment. We finde in it cause of astonishment, and yet neglect the example: Every man trusts to his owne Iudgement, thinking to walke the same way, but the passages of some are more secure then of others. One onely Vessell which shall be prosperously returned from a long Navigation is able to make a hundred persons resolute to undertake the same voyage; and the shipwracke of one hundred Vessels hath not the power to hinder one onely; for every one thinks that ill fortune is not ordained for him.

Macro Capaine of the Guard, and *Laco* Knight of the Watch were better aduised, the Senate for this great seruice of theirs appointed to them great honours. To the first the Office of Prætor, with power to sit in the ranke of the Senators, cloathed with a purple robe at Playes and publike assemblies; and to the second the Office of Quæstor: they refused them, and *Dion* attributeth the reason of their refusall, to the terror of an example so fresh in their memories.

They supposed it would be a great impudence in them to run against the same rocke on which *Seianus* had perished. It is much better to be taught by anothers misfortune then by a mans owne; the wise man makes his profit out of the shame and hurt that toucheth not him at all: and as *Triacle* is made of *Pipers*, and they extract healthfull medicines from poysons

To see great ones ruined is to see great mountaines levelled.

Every man thinks to do better and to guide himselfe more wisely then those that are lost.

Great seruice done for the State, ought to be recompenced with honor, and not with money.

Optimum aliena infania frui. Plini.

There be some that cannot become wise by others examples, but by their owne ruine.

themselves, so from the fals and miseries of bad men
good men may draw precepts for their guidance.

Nemo vnquam
imperium fla-
gitio acqui-
situm bonis ar-
tibus exercuit.
Tac.

*Aluarez de
Lima*, told
them who ad-
mire his for-
tune with the
King of *Castele*,
you do wrong
to commend
the building,
before it be
finished.

Seianus shall be ever alleadged as a prodigious ex-
ample of extreame insolency, and of vnfortunate
ambition; and his Tragickall end may teach vs that
no man can euer vse power well which is ill gotten;
that we must not iudge of a mans happinesse before
his death, nor of the day before the euening, nor of
the building that is not finished; *Death, Fortune,*
Time, and Conserchange in a moment. That fauour
which is acquired by merit or good fortune is lost
through insolency, and the most confident and assu-
red ought not to depend but vpon the supream
grace of the Prince.



FINIS.

